

IN THESE TIMES

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40 Cents

Gays come out fighting

The threat of gay liberation
Right wingers use anti-gay feeling
Gay rights marches

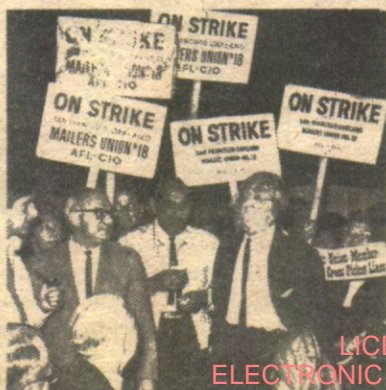
Right: Anita Bryant speaking in Norfolk, Va. Below: Ministers marching in San Francisco gay rights parade.



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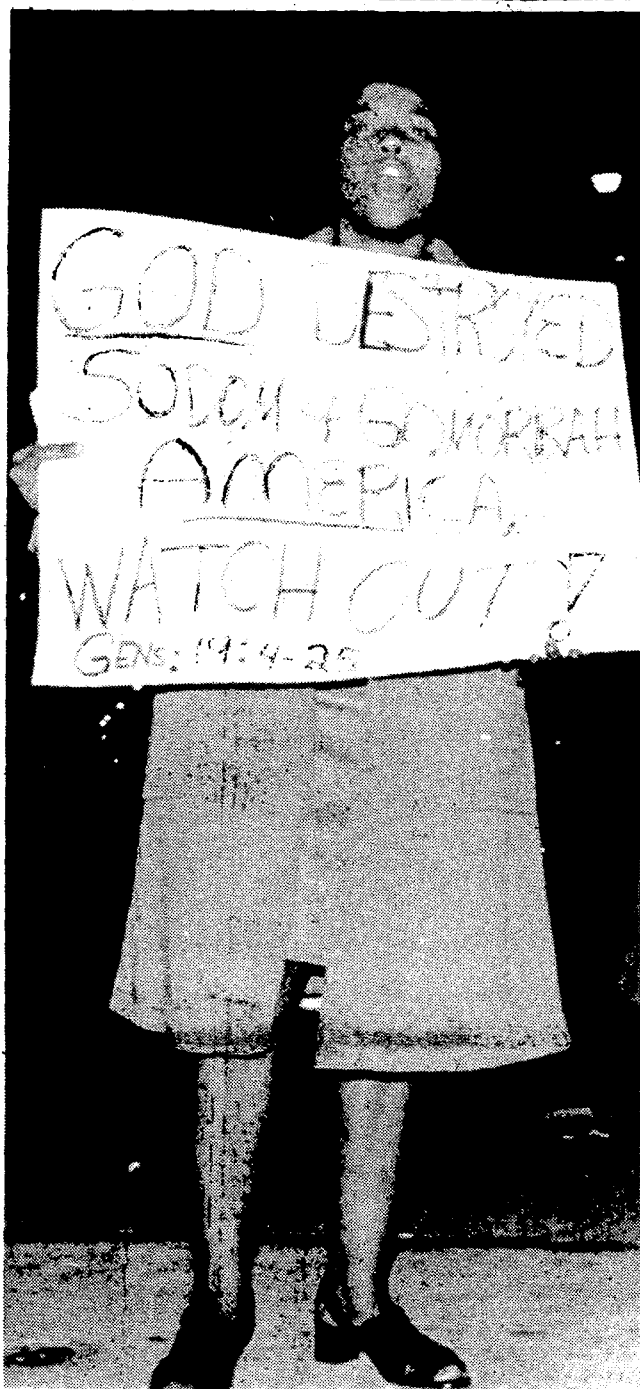
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THE INSIDE STORY

JOHN JUDIS



Jane Melnick

Feeble family fuels anti-gay fervor

A favorite tactic of anti-communists was to link communists and homosexuals. A favorite tactic of the left and of the gay movement in explaining last month's repeal of Miami's ordinance forbidding discrimination against gays is to cite the power of the right wing. Thus, Anita Bryant and Save Our Children, the organization that sponsored the referendum, have been indissolubly linked to Hitler, the Ku Klux Klan, and the Conservative Caucus.

There is, of course, some truth to the left's charges. Several well known rightwingers were among the leaders of the Miami movement. But the rightwing conspiracy theories are mostly rationalizations by which the supporters of civil rights for gays can imagine that, except for rightwing machinations, most Americans would favor their cause.

Here are some facts about Miami that contradict these theories:

Save Our Children did not receive significant financial aid from any known rightwing organization. Even if it had, outside money was not crucial. While SOC raised \$200,000 the opposing Coalition for Human Rights raised over \$300,000.

In the 1976 elections, Miami voters gave Carter 60 percent over Ford, and favored Carter over Wallace in the primary. The same voters gave 69 percent of their votes to the Save Our Children cause.

The Miami vote of approximately 70 to 30 percent against employment and housing rights for gays is slightly lower than, but roughly similar to, the national av-

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erage on this issue, as computed by two opinion studies conducted in 1970 and 1974 in the pro-gay *Journal of Homosexuality*.

In the more specific 1970 study, Eugene E. Levitt and Albert D. Klassen Jr. found that 76.9 percent of American adults thought that homosexuals should not be schoolteachers.

In the less specific study by Kenneth Nyberg and Jon P. Alston, they found that 75 percent of adult white Americans think homosexual relations are "always wrong."

The Miami vote may indicate some decline in anti-gay attitudes, but it also confirms Nyberg and Alston's findings that American disapproval of homosexuality is widespread.

As a widespread feeling, it also tends to cut across party and class lines. In Miami, the main supporters of repeal included wealthy Republicans of Key Biscayne, blacks, Latinos and lower middle-class Catholic and Baptist whites.

Tolerate vs. condone.

Bryant's role was to articulate the issue. According to her, the issue was not one of "human rights" but of the preservation of the family against the threat of gay liberation. Bryant claimed she was "tolerant" of homosexuals without being willing to "condone" their practices.

"While times have certainly changed," she said in the *Miami Herald*, "and American society has largely developed an attitude of tolerance, that tolerance toward homosexuals is based on the understanding that homosexuals will keep their deviate activity to themselves, will not flaunt their lifestyles, will not be allowed to preach their sexual standards, or otherwise influence impressionable young people."

While the distinction between "tolerate" and "condone" is subtle, it is real. In the same study by Klassen and Levitt that found 76 percent would not allow homosexuals to be schoolteachers, 68 percent responded favorably to the statement, "What consenting adult homosexuals do in private is no one else's business."

In other words, the issue in Miami was whether by granting homosexuals the right to work anywhere, including in the schools, one was legitimizing homosexuality as an alternative way of life to the family.

By concentrating on "human rights" and the analogy between Miami and Selma, or Bryant and Hitler, the pro-gay forces tend to talk past or simply anger their opposition.

Gay Pressure.

In the wake of Miami, one wonders how the gay movement accomplished as much as it did prior to Miami—the repeal of criminal ordinances in 18 states and the passage of anti-discrimination laws like Miami's in over 40 cities. Several factors are important.

The gay movement, once it got off the ground in 1969, grew explosively until it now includes more than a hundred thousand active adherents. In different cities, gays have formed organized pressure groups that have been able to win over politicians in the absence of any organized counter-pressure and in spite of the fact that if a vote of local residents were taken, only a minority might support gay rights.

In Miami, the Dade County Coalition for the Humanistic Rights of Gays, formed in 1976 as a pressure group on local politicians, had been responsible for getting the ordinance passed by Miami's city council.

The Miami referendum was the first time that an anti-discrimination law had been subjected to a popular vote.

It was no accident that the first test should have come in Miami. It is a mixture of the liberal urban North and the conservative South, with Havana thrown in. Bryant's

campaign workers were drawn from Miami's sizeable Baptist and Catholic populations.

It may be that this explosive combination of New York City and the deep South will not occur elsewhere, and the immediate controversy over gay rights will die down, leaving gay organizations able to influence politicians once more as a pressure group.

If the issue doesn't subside, gays will have to build a political coalition capable of withstanding the social conservatism of the '70s—something that the more powerful women's movement has not been able to do.

Decline of the family.

The Paradox about gay liberation is that both the movement and its opposition stem from the same source the decline in the family. Gay liberation, and the liberalization of anti-gay laws, is an expression of the family's decline in the same way that divorce and its legalization were.

Liberalization of the anti-gay laws has roughly paralleled changes in the family. Until after the mid-19th century, when the family farm was the basic economic unit of society, American states maintained the medieval death penalty for homosexuality.

In the 1860s, when the death penalty was finally replaced by imprisonment, the family was no longer the main economic unit of society. Production was increasingly organized through the wage-labor, in factories or offices. The family's responsibilities were reduced to reproducing the labor force.

The post-World War II period of liberalization coincides with the further erosion of the family's responsibilities. With the introduction of birth control and with the American economy no longer requiring an expanding labor force, emphasis on reproduction as a social responsibility has decreased, and sexuality has increasingly become an end in itself.

The erosion of the family's economic functions and the decreasing individual responsibility for reproduction have both diminished the prohibition on homosexuality and made its legalization thinkable.

But the family remains responsible for reproduction and child-rearing and as capitalism destroys neighborhoods and communities, families have become the main refuge against the impersonality of social life.

Adam and Bruce.

The gay liberation movement developed in the late '60s in the wake of feminist critique of the family. In stressing the disadvantages of family life, feminists gave the gay movement a rationale for seeing homosexuality and heterosexuality as equally viable.

But just as the feminist critique inspired the gay movement, it also deeply angered many Americans for whom the family remained the main source of meaningful work and happiness.

In the 1970s, just as the deepening recession made Americans increasingly skeptical about their economy and government, it also encouraged Americans to take refuge against the external uncertainty in home, family, and religion. In the '70s, these Americans of varying economic and political persuasion have become more insistent in their denunciation of federal funds for abortions, the Equal Rights Amendment, and equal rights for homosexuals.

They tend to see homosexuality through the eyes of an earlier era: as a threat to the very fabric of society and to all family life rather than as an individual alternative to family life in an era when capitalism has eliminated the family as a universal institution.

With Anita Bryant, they declare incredulously: "If homosexuality were the normal way, God would have made Adam and Bruce."

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Right using gay issue

Parading as defenders of the traditional family, the right has been making big gains.

By Bill Sievert
Pacific News Service

The campaign for gay rights and burgeoning "new right" political forces appear on a collision course that could profoundly reshape the nature and intensity of American political debate.

Spearheaded by such groups as the Conservative Caucus (TCC), the Committee for Survival of a Free Congress (CSFC) and the National Conservative Political Action Committee (NCPAC), the New Right has successfully exploited some of the hottest political issues of recent times in an attempt to forge a new national conservative alliance.

"We're going after people on the basis of their hot buttons," says TCC director Howard Phillips. Such hot buttons have included gun control, capital punishment, socialized medicine, arms limitations, the Panama Canal, abortion and the Equal Rights Amendment.

One of the hottest buttons in recent months—and for the foreseeable future—is gay rights legislation. Presented as a defense of the traditional American family, the anti-gay campaign may have a broader and more natural appeal than any other conservative issue.

Gains for the right.

Even before Anita Bryant unleashed her anti-gay campaign last winter in Miami, New Right groups were having considerable success in building what Phillips calls "America's common sense grass roots conservatism."

They claimed credit for the defeat of ERA legislation in both Florida and Indiana earlier this year and for initiatives in several states to limit abortion on demand.

They also took credit for the increasing number of conservatives in Congress. The CSFC now lists 121 representatives in its camp and boasts of electing Utah Republican Orrin G. Hatch to the Senate.

Richard Viguerie, chief fund-raiser and direct-mail specialist for such New Right groups as the TCC, CSFC and the NCPAC, says that gays and other "left" minorities have some reason to be concerned. "Conservatives," he says, "are not going to be the patsies they have been in the past."

"America's conservative majority" will wrest Congressional control and federal monies away from supporters of "the women's lib movement, welfare rights groups and gay groups," says TCC's Phillips.

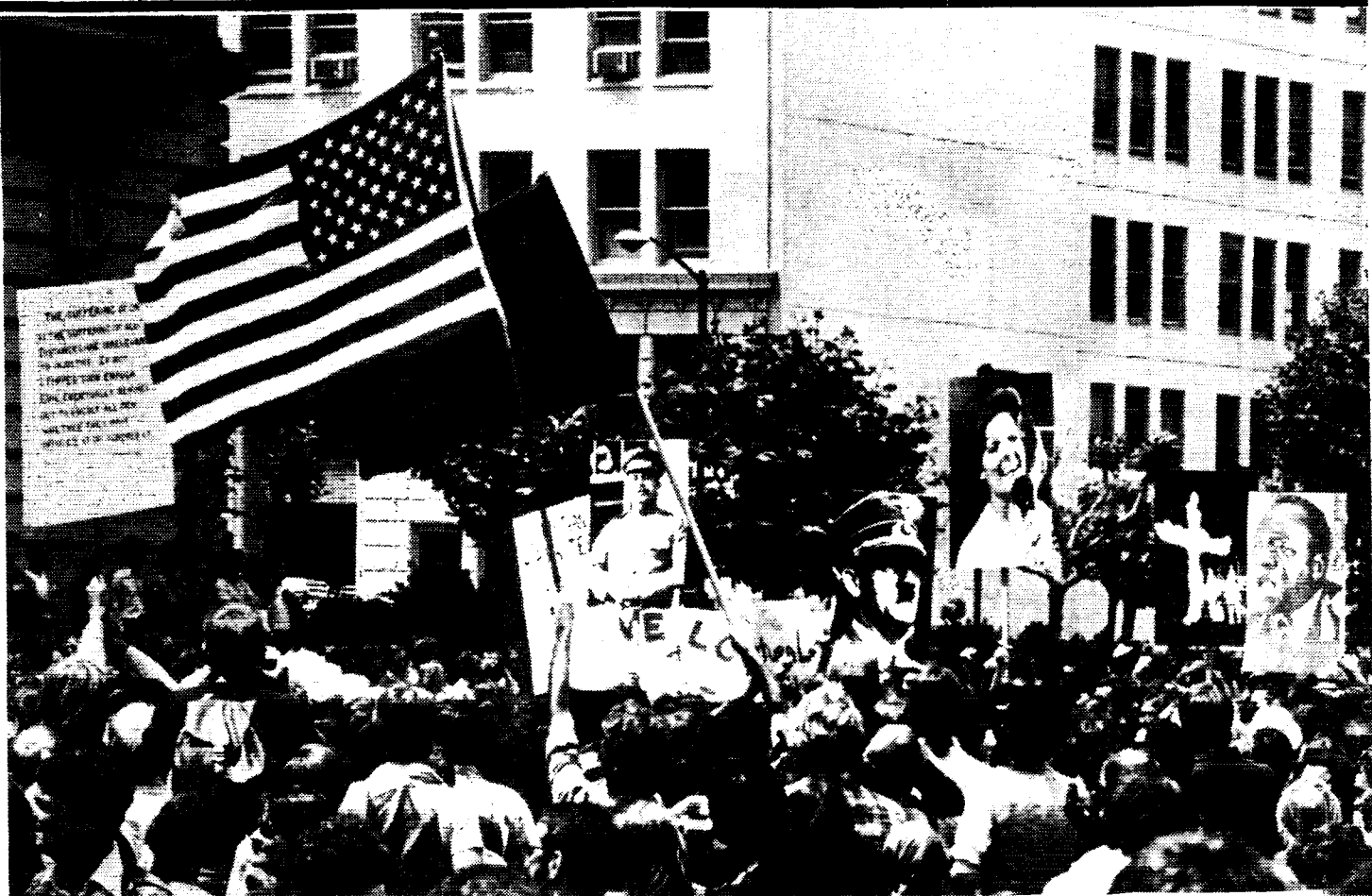
When Anita Bryant's Save Our Children (SOC) campaign was launched last winter, Phillips says, "we had talked about helping them go national." At that time SOC decided to work alone.

But Phillips says his organization remains "in frequent contact" with key people in SOC and is prepared to help in any way possible now that a national campaign is gearing up.

Need political muscle.

"What's most frightening to us is that gays are the new emotional issue to be exploited by the power-strivers of the New Right," says Robert McQueen, editor of the national gay newsmagazine *The Advocate*. "Miami taught us that the organization and propaganda tactics of the far right are highly effective."

Assemblywoman Elaine Noble of Massachusetts, a lesbian, agrees. "The anti-ERA people, the Anita Bryant people, the pro-gun people, the right-to-lifers—they are all the same... Like with the Jews in Nazi Germany, they pick on the people who look like easy pickings." Noble believes that gays must develop some political "muscle," or be in real trouble.



Gay rights marchers in San Francisco warn that if the campaign against them is successful, other minority groups will also be in danger.

In developing a strategy for fighting back, many gays are particularly concerned with the inroads the New Right is making with the growing population of Christian fundamentalists who are quick to support anyone defending God, patriotism and family.

"We're dealing with a special kind of opponent," explains Howard Wallace, coordinator of San Francisco's radical Gay Action Coalition. "This born-again phenomenon on the right—as reflected by Anita Bryant—always has existed in American life. It used to be that sophisticated political people brushed it aside. But now we have one in the White House. He may be a different kind of born-again, but look at his own church's racial policy toward blacks."

The family issue.

So far the anti-gay crusade has successfully framed the issue in terms of the sanctity of the traditional family and an alleged threat by gays to its future.

In her victory speech Anita Bryant termed gay civil rights legislation an "attempt to legitimize a lifestyle that is both perverse and dangerous to the sanctity

of the family."

Similarly, Bruce Nestande, a California Republican assemblyman, has successfully pushed a bill through the state legislature restricting the right of marriage to heterosexuals. His argument: "Either the family means something or it doesn't. The family means—at bottom line—procreation. It would be the termination of civilization if everyone went that direction [gay]."

In the past gay leaders have attempted to ignore such issues as unfounded and irrational. But now some gays are preparing to address the family issue head-on.

"While these arguments are not appropriate for the legal questions involved in our fight, we've become persuaded that these family arguments are the core of the issue in the minds of many Americans," says Ron Gold of the National Gay Task Force (NGTF).

To help change the public image of gays the NGTF is launching a nationwide campaign, labeled "We Are Your Children." The campaign will include public dialogues between gays and heterosexual citizens to be held at churches and civil meetings in towns throughout the country.

A lot of hysteria to overcome.

How will gays deal with the question of family sanctity? "Clearly we're saying that the concept of family needs to be broadened not just for gays but for everyone," Gold says. "The fact that marriages are disintegrating rapidly has nothing to do with us."

While noting that there is an "awful lot of ingrained hysteria to overcome," Gold, like many other gay leaders, credits Anita Bryant with "giving us a chance to talk to the rest of the American people. We'll at least be able to show them we're not freaks with six heads."

Sasha Gregory-Lewis, an editor of *The Advocate* and reporter of a series on the New Right, agrees and points out that the biggest mistake all "liberal movements, including gay and women's liberation" have made in the past is to ignore and write off a very large American constituency—the constituency that is being mined by the New Right. If we lose our agenda," she says, "we will lose it because we have never talked with the majority of America's people."

Bill Sievert is former education editor of *Saturday Review*.

Gay Pride marches around the world

By Chris Riddiough
Gay rights activists marched in cities around the world Sunday, June 26, as the culmination of a variety of Gay and Lesbian Pride Week activities.

Pride Week had its origins June 28, 1969, when gay patrons of the Stonewall Bar in New York City resisted a police raid. It was one of the first times that gay people had publicly resisted police harassment. The modern gay liberation movement is generally dated from Stonewall and each year Pride Week celebrates gay resistance there.

This year's Pride Week followed closely the defeat of gay rights in Miami, where a city provision outlawing discrimination was heavily defeated in a much-publicized referendum, and the threat of Anita Bryant and her "Save Our Children" campaign, which engineered the defeat, to take their anti-gay campaign to other areas. As a result Gay and Lesbian Pride Week activities around the country were larger and more politically oriented than in previous years.

Parades were held in major American cities as well as in Amsterdam, Nether-

lands, and Barcelona, Spain. The largest was in San Francisco (see accompanying story) where between 100,000 and 200,000 people came out. An estimated 25,000 marched in New York and thousands more marched in Chicago, Atlanta, Miami and a host of other cities.

While most marches were peaceful and without incident, the Barcelona march was broken up by police who fired rubber bullets to disperse the demonstrators.

The political theme of this year's activities was evidence by the greater participation of political groups of all shades and by the preponderance of political slogans and banners. In Chicago, where the theme of Pride Week was "Gays and Lesbians in History," several floats depicted the history of gay oppression and resistance to it, including one that graphically showed the treatment of gay people by the Nazis in Germany and promised that it would never happen again. Chants and placards addressed the issues of gay rights and the current anti-gay backlash, including "No more Miamis," "Down with Anita," "Gay rights and the ERA," and "Down with the anti-

gay, anti-black, anti-poor Supreme Court."

The marches also seemed to draw a broader spectrum of the gay community than in the past. Most parades had a higher representation from women than ever before. In Chicago Pride Week was officially renamed Gay/Lesbian Pride Week and the planning committee had a man and woman as co-chairs.

In addition to the Pride Week activities, the anti-gay backlash has precipitated a variety of other gay rights efforts. Demonstrations have followed Anita Bryant around the country and the National Gay Task Force has announced the beginning of a campaign to counter the "Save Our Children" effort, entitled "We Are Your Children."

In addition, Leonard Matlovich, a former Air Force sergeant who is fighting the military's anti-gay policies, speaking at a Pride Week rally, called for a million gay activists and supporters to march on Washington in support of gay rights next year.

Chris Riddiough is a gay activist in Chicago.

Pride marches larger, more united



Gary Freedman

San Francisco sees 200,000 in march

By Nancy Dunn

SAN FRANCISCO—Three weeks after Anita Bryant's Save Our Children campaign polled a two-to-one victory to repeal a Dade County gay rights ordinance and four days after a gay man was slain here by assailants screaming "faggot, faggot," an estimated 200,000 took to the streets here to show support for gay rights.

The setting was the traditional Gay Freedom Day parade commemorating the 1969 gay uprising against police in New York City, but participants and observers agree that the size and spirit of this year's march were unprecedented.

In recent years, the San Francisco parade has featured dozens of lavish floats sponsored by gay businesses, often displaying glitter-bedecked men in various stages of undress, while hundreds of flamboyant drag queens have strutted or rode in the back of convertibles through gay neighborhoods. An estimated 10,000 participated in the 1976 parade.

This year's four-hour-long procession, however, marched down San Francisco's Market Street led by thousands of conventionally dressed men and women, carrying banners quoting Jimmy Carter's "Human rights are absolute" and bearing placards saying "We are your children" and "A day without human rights is like a day without sunshine." Others urged a boycott of Florida citrus products.

Though there were a number of elaborate floats in this year's parade, the tone was noticeably restrained in an effort by the gay community to counteract Bryant's picture of perverted "recruiters."

Large numbers of women also marched for the first time. Contingents of "Straights for Gay Rights" drew enthusiastic applause from spectators, as did religious groups, telephone company workers, gay and straight teachers and several older and conservatively dressed women carrying signs that read "I love my gay son."

Signs along the parade route proclaimed the geographical diversity of the marchers: Salt Lake City, Connecticut, Oklahoma, and at least two plane-loads of support-

Upswing of activity.

Organization and activity by San Francisco gays, as in other cities around the U.S., has been on the upswing since the beginning of the Miami campaign. A local support group distributed 100,000 leaflets and raised more than \$11,000 for the unsuccessful effort to keep the Miami anti-discrimination ordinance.

When the Miami results came in June 6, "people were stunned," says Howard Wallace of Gay Action. A spontaneous candlelight vigil began, rapidly growing into a march of thousands that crisscrossed the city, ending in a midnight rally downtown.

Demonstrations of the following days drew hundreds: rallies at City Hall, a silent vigil at the Catholic cathedral to protest church support of the Bryant campaign, picket lines at the local ABC television station to call for an end to anti-gay editorials, a rally at a speech by Vice President Mondale meant to prompt a statement in support of human rights for gays.

The fast-paced reaction spawned new organizations, the Lesbian Rights Alliance, Save Our Human Rights and, finally, the Coalition for Human Rights, which drew nearly one thousand gays to a pre-parade meeting.

Meanwhile, a string of anti-gay actions added fuel to the fire. Sen. S.I. Hayakawa announced that he sided with Bryant; a handful of local conservative politicians joined him. Two gay men were arrested in the beach town of Santa Cruz for "lewd and dissolute behavior"—one was sitting on the other's lap. An arsonist torched a gay bar in San Jose. The incidence of unprovoked beatings of gays rose sharply.

Then on June 22 Robert Hillsborough, a gay city gardener was attacked by four young men who screamed "faggot, faggot" while stabbing him some 15 times. Hillsborough's companion was severely beaten.

The Coalition for Human Rights and gay community leaders were quick to lay the blame for the murder on the hands of Bryant and others "who stir up a climate of hate." Local politicians spoke out against the killing; the newspapers called for tolerance. Mayor George Moscone ordered the City Hall flags to half mast in Hillsborough's memory.

Thousands of dollars in reward money were offered by the city and gay groups, and by the weekend of the parade four young suspects—one only 16 years old—were arrested.

"Anita, your hands are bloody," read signs carried by marchers.

Now a mass movement.

The series of events has produced a surge of militancy in the gay community. "A lot of people came out [as gay] in the last month who never thought they'd be involved in the gay movement," says Wallace. "We have a mass movement on our hands for the first time."

The groups that formed in the heady day and night meetings of the last weeks, along with existing groups, are now pondering how to turn the Dade County disaster to their advantage. "We're dinner-time conversation for people in hundreds of families across the nation, where before people wouldn't talk about homosexuality in polite company," teacher Hank Wilson says. "It's all because of Anita Bryant. She's been the catalyst."

Though the Coalition for Human Rights hasn't adopted a program yet, spokesperson Gwenn Craig says the focus will be on education. There's a need to forge unity in the Bay Area gay movement, he adds, "because we're feeling pressure just because we're gay, regardless of sex or race, people are willing to put aside or work out other differences to try to work together."

Activists say the local gay voting bloc has been solidified by the recent events. Many Democratic party politicians have long courted the gay vote; incumbent Mayor Moscone and Sheriff Richard Hongisto, both under fire from the right, spoke out strongly in favor of the gay

rights campaign. Hongisto even flew to Miami to pitch in.

Many who marched in the parade say non-gays should take warning from the zealous anti-gay campaign. "If people in Dade County can lose their rights because of their sexual orientation, that's threatening to me as a Mexican-American," says Chula Nuno, an organizer of the straight support group. "If they can take away somebody's rights, they can take away anybody's."

Nancy Dunn is a San Francisco freelance writer.

Atlanta mayor ducks on gay proclamation

By Bill Cutler

ATANTA—Gay activists and their supporters marched down Atlanta's Peachtree Street June 25 in mid-afternoon temperatures exceeding 90 degrees, forming by far the largest Gay Pride demonstration in the city's history. Observers estimate the crowd at somewhere between 700 and 1,500, compared to a gathering of no more than 350 at last year's Gay Pride Day activities.

The demonstration took place two days after Atlanta's first black mayor, Maynard Jackson, refused to issue a proclamation honoring Gay Pride Day, as he had done the year before, and one day after Jackson announced his candidacy for a second term.

To judge by signs carried in the parade and speeches delivered at the rally afterwards, this year's large turnout was motivated by opposition to anti-gay-rights crusader Anita Bryant, rather than concern about Mayor Jackson's lack of sup-

port. Speakers were assured of tumultuous applause every time they condemned Mrs. Bryant by name, and the pouring out of a bottle of Florida orange juice by a representative from the National Organization for Women was greeted by a riotous ovation. By contrast, few references were made to Jackson's retreat from endorsing gay rights, and crowd response to those allusions was mild and muted.

When he proclaimed Gay Pride Day last year, Jackson and the local papers were deluged with complaints from a reactionary group calling itself Citizens for a Decent Atlanta. The organization financed a series of large, attention-getting newspaper ads demanding that Jackson retract his proclamation. The mayor resisted this pressure.

With mayoral elections coming up this October, however, Jackson shifted his ground to a more "responsible" position suggested by his advisers. Ignoring the request for a Gay Pride proclamation that gay activists had filed with his office weeks before, Jackson proclaimed "Civil Liberties Week," containing a vague, general endorsement of every Atlantian's right to constitutional protections. Citizens for a Decent Atlanta applauded Jackson's statesmanship.

The mayor's new caution in the area of civil rights follows by only two months his success in breaking a strike by the lowest-paid city workers. Downtown business leaders enthusiastically welcomed Jackson's anti-union tactics and are now bankrolling his campaign for a second term.

The lack of interest shown in mayoral politics by Gay Pride Day participants seems to represent the general awareness of progressive Atlantians that Jackson's re-election is virtually assured, and no serious prospective opponent of the incumbent mayor represents a clear hope for more progressive policies.

Bill Carter is a freelance writer in Atlanta.



Jane Meinel

In addition to staging the largest Gay Pride march ever, San Francisco gay activists are preparing a variety of campaigns to take their case to the public.

By John Peers
and Arlene Muszynski

NEWS ANALYSIS

Health care costs to keep going up despite Carter plan

President Carter singled out hospital costs as the first target in his drive to put the brakes on skyrocketing health care costs April 25 when he proposed legislation that would limit hospital cost increases to nine percent in fiscal year 1978, with smaller increases in following years. He also proposed a limit and strict regulations on new hospital building nationwide. Areas with excess hospital capacity—about 80 percent of the nation's hospital service areas—would be barred from new construction.

Billed as the "first step in making national health insurance financially feasible," Carter's proposals appear to be in for hard times in Congress. They have only lukewarm support even among receptive Congressmen and face the strong opposition of the medical and hospital lobbies.

A serious examination of the American health care system, however, quickly reveals the need for some sort of action to control health care costs, as well as the limits to what Carter has proposed.

The total expenditure for medical and health care in the U.S. in 1970 was \$69 billion. By 1976 that figure had jumped to \$139 billion. The spiraling costs of medical services reflect more than an inflation-plagued economy. Ineffective health planning, accessibility of government and private funding, duplication of services and underutilization of facilities have all contributed to rising costs and the overall health care crisis.

Rising government share.

In 1974 the national expenditure in health care for the first time exceeded \$100 billion. Of this, approximately \$40 billion, or 42 percent, was contributed by federal, state and local governments. (Discounting inflation, this represents a 63 percent increase from 1960 levels.)

The availability of these funds has created serious problems. Spurred by the accessibility of Medicare and Medicaid reimbursements, an excess of hospital beds has developed in many areas.

In January 1974 there were 20,000 surplus beds in the nation. This figure rose to 67,000 in 1975, and current HEW estimates place the number at near 100,000. Each surplus bed costs between \$20,000 and \$40,000 per year to maintain, which totals more than a \$2 billion waste.

The cost of this underutilization is made up by the hospitals through higher charges for hospital users. In 1967 in-patient hospital care cost \$49.22 per day. By 1976 (in urban areas) that cost was \$175 per day.

Carter's proposed legislation will not solve this underutilization problem; all that it will do is limit the development of additional excess bed space.

Per day costs will likely jump by 15 percent or more this year, medical economist Paul J. Feldstein of the University of Michigan recently noted in the *Wall Street Journal*. The national average by the end of 1977 will likely be \$190, with \$250 per day charges in high-cost areas on the East and West coasts.

Meanwhile, doctors' fees are expected to climb 13.5 percent this year (on top of a 13 percent rise last year). Carter's plan would attempt to hold hospital increases to nine percent, but would do nothing for physicians' charges or for support items.

One common explanation for rising hospital costs focuses on rising labor costs, and with labor making up as much as 70 percent of total hospital costs, the workers have seemed the logical target. This view is coming into increasing question, however. The Council on Wage and Price Stability recently issued a staff study, for instance, that noted: "Although hospital wage rates have risen more rapidly than wages in other parts of the economy, these relatively greater wage increases are responsible for only a small part of the overall increase in the cost of hospital care." Wages for hospital workers are still 10 percent below those for other nonagricultural workers.

But is it good care?

Despite all of this spending on health care, the U.S. ranks thirteenth in the world in infant mortality rates, eighteenth in male life expectancy at birth, and eleventh in female life expectancy. Clearly the total dol-

lars spent on health care bears little relationship to the quality of health in our country.

Health and medical care in the U.S. is a business—a big business. Hospitals profit from treating patients—the more patients, the more profits and/or status enhancement.

In urban areas where there is often an excess of doctors and hospitals, hospitals compete for the health care consumer's business. They "sell" their facilities to the community. They vie for the most modern facilities and advanced technological equipment, and this competition consistently produces duplication.

Hospitals only a few miles apart will acquire the same expensive equipment in order to stay "competitive." The cost of this duplication is, of course, passed on to the health care consumer. The administration's plan to control costs offers little or no relief in this area.

Public, not-for-profit hospitals often surpass private hospitals in the inflationary costs cycle. These hospitals have prominent local citizens sitting at their board tables as trustees. Their natural tendency is to try and make their hospital "the best." Encouraged by local doctors, the trustees will strive to add new wings, and such quality features as new computerized X-ray machines, burn units, and other expensive equipment.

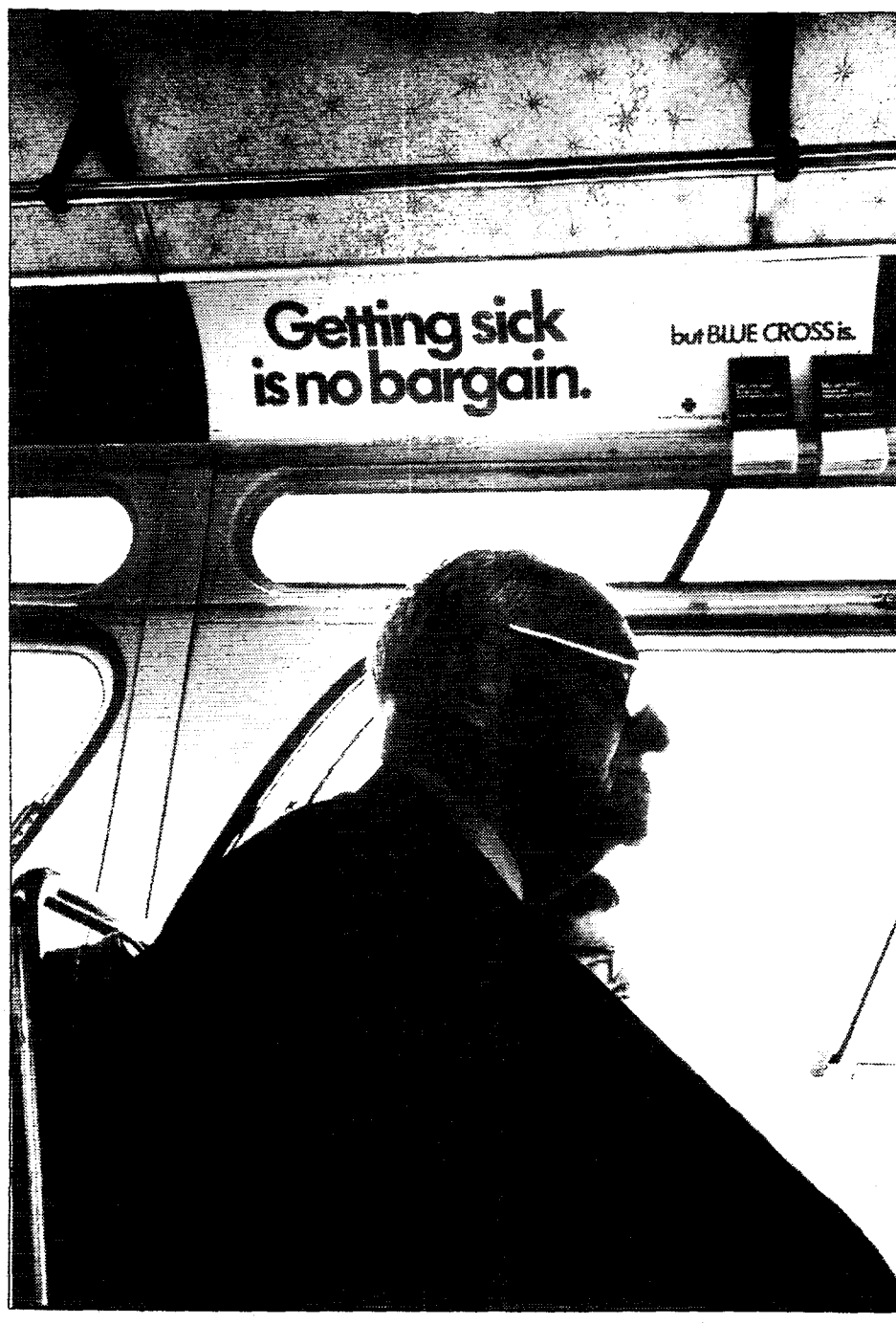
The more money they spend, the more prestige, but also the higher the cost for even the simplest care.

Private expenditures for medical facility construction experienced a dollar decline in 1976, while public spending for construction rose 23 percent during last year. These figures reflect the growing government subsidization of the private sector of the industry, and indicate a trend toward increasing government involvement in response to the current crisis. Carter's plan, were it to be implemented, might begin to reduce the percentage of additional unnecessary construction.

But what about the individual and the medical services delivery system? What happens when you need help? Carter's plan offers little immediate aid for the medical services consumer. At best the program will stabilize the current high prices for health care, but the plan seeks no fundamental alterations of the system.

The medical services consumer has no bargaining power and often very little choice. If your doctor is on the staff of a hospital charging \$175 per day for a room, you will not question the fee or consider a hospital that charges \$150 per day for a room.

When you are hospitalized, you are often operating under a limited time factor. You're involved in an accident and are rushed to the nearest hospital. Obviously there is no time to check out details. You pay the prices, no questions asked. In effect, hospitals operate in a near-monopoly situation. When you add to this the high



General Motors claims that health care now costs more per car than steel

percentage of third-party payments (government or insurance-covered), hospitals are able to raise rates almost at will.

For the individual, however, the economic issues must be faced. The bills start piling up in a hurry. For minor surgery, for instance, there will be bills from the hospital and doctor, as well as bills from the internist, the surgeon, oftentimes from a consulting physician, and an anesthesiologist.

If you have insurance, you submit the bills to your insurance company. They review your bill and notify you as to the amount your insurance will cover. You pay the remainder—seemingly small in comparison to the total bill.

Who really pays?

But is that all that you are paying? What about the monthly payments that you or your employer is making into a health and welfare insurance plan; or the money deducted each week from your paycheck for insurance coverage? This is money that you've been paying to prepare for an emergency, and it's the money that the insurance companies use to pay the hospitals and doctors.

General Motors claims that the cost of health care for their employees now adds more to the price of a car than does the cost of steel. "G.M.'s health insurance outlays in the last six months have climbed to \$120 a month per contract covering a worker and his family, an increase of \$19 over late last summer," reported the *Wall Street Journal* recently. And G.M.'s contributions are of course taken out of its workers' paychecks, not to mention added into the price of a car.

And what about the next emergency? What if the next time your biopsy is positive or you need intensive care for your heart? How long can you draw on a shrinking medical fund when you're facing major surgery and subsequent treatment for a catastrophic disease? For most Americans the answer to these questions spell Trouble. By 1972 the typical limit of reimbursement was only \$5,000 and one out of three hospitalization policies covered no more than 60 days. Only 42 percent of personal health expenditures were reimbursed through private insurance.

What about the elderly?

And what happens to the elderly dependent upon Medicare medical insurance? They are still responsible in part for the cost of some services. Besides the \$60 medical insurance deductible for each calendar year, they are responsible for 20 percent of their medical expenses. This can be a tremendous burden for anyone living on Social Security.

Also, only services deemed "reasonable and necessary" will be paid for by Medicare. A Utilization Review Committee, made up of at least two doctors, helps Medicare decide what care is reasonable and necessary. If the URC decides against you, so much for Medicare payments.

Custodial care, for instance, is not considered reasonable or necessary. As defined by Medicare, custodial care is "primarily for the purpose of meeting personal needs and could be provided by persons without professional skills or training; for example, help in walking, getting into and out of bed, bathing, dressing, eating, and taking medicine."

Personal needs, however, must be met, and despite Medicare's classification, are necessary. Is it unreasonable to consider eating and taking medicine important factors in maintaining one's health? There are private groups that provide these custodial services, but they provide them for a fee. The elderly may not only be forced to pay for medical bills, but may also be forced to pay for the right to be clean, eat, and to survive.

Obviously our present medical services delivery system is failing to provide for many real and immediate needs. The system is geared to return profits, rather than to provide the best possible care for Americans.

So long as the profit motive remains the central force behind the system, and hospitals, physicians and insurance companies all compete for your health dollar, medical service will continue to be expensive, and offer poor coverage.

John Peers and Arlene Muszynski are health care workers in Chicago.

THE MILITARY

Jimmy Sez

No!



to B-1 bomber

Describing the defense capability of the U.S. as "adequate," President Carter last week called for a halt in production of the B-1 Bomber, the weapon system critics have dubbed "the most expensive white elephant ever proposed by industry."

In a June 30 news conference Carter cited military and technological reasons for his unexpected and long-awaited decision. The recent evolution of the cruise missile system and the ability to use modernized B-52 Bombers, he said, has made the B-1 Bomber, a "very expensive weapon system," unnecessary.

He also recommended that research and development on the controversial weapon system be continued. The implications of this decision for aerospace workers and for the possible revival of the B-1 are not clear. Carter retained the option of "changing his mind" on the B-1 if the "military situation with the Soviets deteriorates rapidly."

B-1 opponents hailed his announcement, which is in accord with campaign statements, as a "courageous choice." "Carter was under intense pressure from those interests that would benefit from the B-1, especially Air Force brass and defense contractors," commented Steve Pearlman, legislative coordinator of the National Campaign to Stop the B-1 Bomber.

"But aerospace workers should not have to pay the price of a change in government priorities," Pearlman emphasized. "We

support a bill by Rep. Jonathan Bingham (D-NY) that offers B-1 workers job retraining for civilian jobs and financial assistance until new jobs can be found."

Congress is expected to go along with Carter's position, despite last week's House vote that approved production of the B-1.

A spokesman for Rockwell International, the prime contractor for the B-1, anticipates that two-thirds of their 16,000 B-1 employees, primarily in the Los Angeles area, would be laid off.

Defense contractors and other B-1 supporters have argued that the B-1 is designed to be "one of our key strategic deterrent forces into the next century" and that it is essential to repel a potential Soviet first strike. Both the United Auto Workers and the International Association of Machinists, with substantial memberships among aerospace workers, have supported the B-1 in convention resolutions.

Opponents have pointed out, on the other hand, that the B-1 program is enormously expensive, costing up to \$100 million per plane, and that the resulting jobs would be relatively short-lived. Many more jobs would result if the same amount of federal money were spent on programs to help alleviate social problems.

"What good is it to be able to destroy Moscow ten times over if our own cities die in the meantime?" asked Jerry Wurf, president of the American Federation of State, County and Municipal Employees in a newspaper advertisement.

LABOR

Insurgent win in D.C. Teamsters

By Dan Marshall
After six years of court battles and unsuccessful election campaigns, dissident Teamsters in Washington D.C. last week unseated the established leadership of the area's largest local. Unión reformers view the election as a significant breakthrough in their nationwide campaign for a democratic, honest international union.

The insurgent slate was headed by Daniel George, a 41-year-old black man whose earlier attempts to challenge the leaders of Local 639 resulted in extensive Labor department proceedings, federal court cases and the temporary loss of his truck-driving job at Jacobs Transfer Company. Running on a reform program, George and 12 other union members defeated a slate headed by incumbent president Frank DeBrouse.

Elected as secretary-treasurer was John Catlett, a prominent member of the Professional Drivers Council (PROD) who has also filed charges, with two other Teamsters, to have Frank Fitzsimmons removed as international president. (ITT, May 24.)

"Throw out the Watergate gang" was

one theme of the dissidents' "Teamwork" campaign. They accused DeBrouse of mismanaging the local's health and welfare fund and of being soft on employers. These complaints, as well as a series of economic issues, played an important role in their victory, George told the *Washington Post*.

DeBrouse has reportedly vowed that he will not allow the insurgents to assume office. He is expected to protest the election through internal union channels.

"Other union reformers should derive a lot of encouragement from the Local 639 victory. If it can be done here, it can be done in other parts of the country," Susan Ginsburg of PROD told IN THESE TIMES.

George has reform aims similar to PROD, but stresses that "we have a responsibility to the members of Local 639 and only Local 639." One of his court cases, however, set a precedent that may assist other insurgent campaigns. The U.S. Court of Appeals ruled that when an election is set aside because of irregularities, the challengers legal fees for court proceedings may be paid from the union's treasury.

WOMEN

California feminists beat back right wing

By Irene Wolt
"Stop Schlafly/Stop Bryant" was the cry that swept through California's feminist communities in the week before the International Women's Year (IWY) California state meeting. The Phyllis Schlafly anti-era, anti-abortion forces, who had made links with the Anita Bryant "Save Our Children" anti-gay campaign, were rumored to be registering for the conference in great numbers. Fearful of a meeting packed against feminist concerns, as has happened in other states, thousands of women turned out, swelling conference registration to 6,000.

The conference was to elect 96 delegates and five alternatives to the National IWY convention to be held in Houston this November. California NOW and the National Gay Task Force as well as many local feminist groups were united behind a slate that included a balanced proportion of blacks, Chicanas, Native Americans, lesbians, low income women, rural women, older and younger women. It closely paralleled the official IWY slate except for the inclusion of the lesbians and the dropping of some "right to lifers."

Results of the voting were to be announced by the end of the conference but the IWY Coordinating Committee, unable to find a large enough neutral body to count the votes, turned the ballots over to the University of Southern California campus security until a federal arbitration group could come in to do the counting.

More than 50 resolutions were drafted in workshops grouped under four general headings: the world of work and education, the quality of life and role choices, the world of criminal justice and violence and the world of politics.

Workshop sessions were often heated as the outnumbered Schlafly forces struggled for a foothold. As in other states the conservative forces came organized and prepared with typed-up resolutions. But they were met by a well-organized feminist coalition that significantly defused their efforts.

Only two Schlafly/Bryant resolutions made it to the closing session, where all re-

The Phyllis Schlafly/Anita Bryant forces were soundly defeated on all issues at the California meeting.

solutions had to pass a two-thirds vote before becoming a part of the official California program. One resolution opposed government-supported day care "on the basis that it weakens the family unit; is not the kind of care preferred by most families; is not needed and will have negative effects upon children involved at great cost to the American taxpayer." The other condemned the idea of wages for housework, saying that "we as women feel that the present compensation in love and economic support that we receive is satisfactory." Both resolutions brought laughter and disbelief from the audience and were the only two that were not adopted by the body.

Resolutions were adopted that supported the ERA, ability-to-pay, government-sponsored day care centers, reproductive freedom including the right to abortions, rights of gay people to live openly and not be discriminated against, rights of minorities and the disabled, wages for housework, decriminalization of prostitution, and the J.P. Stevens boycott.

In addition to the conflict with the right wing, the meeting weathered—and responded affirmatively to—grievances by black, Native American, and disabled women. It also survived planning problems that sometimes seemed to overwhelm officials and often left participants lost in a maze of confusion and frustration. (It took people up to an hour to fill out their unalphabetized ballots, for instance.)

Despite it all, the conference managed to come up with a program that appeared to bring together all but the minority right wing. "Let us show that Californians are united," speaker Betty Bryant Morris noted in concluding the conference.

Irene Wolt is the coauthor (with Bob Gottlieb) of Thinking Big—The Story of the Los Angeles Times, Its Publishers, and Their Influence on Southern California, to appear in October.

MILITARY

Union hesitates to organize GIs

AFGE's hesitation in organizing may be an indication of their weakening position for government employees they already represent.

By Steve Rees
Pacific News Service

When the American Federation of Government Employees (AFGE) brazenly announced its intent to unionize soldiers nearly two years ago, Washington officialdom came down with a bad case of nerves. It now appears the jitters have spread to AFGE headquarters itself.

While GIs in some areas have been clamoring for union cards and polls have shown a surprising enthusiasm for unionization in the ranks (see accompanying story), the AFGE has delayed implementing a September convention vote to allow soldiers to join.

The National Executive Council has instead scheduled a second vote—a mid-July referendum of the union's 1,500 locals on whether an active drive should be launched.

Some local union leaders, noting the referendum is set for the peak of vacation season, believe the executive council wants and expects a "no" vote.

The jitters on officials were well demonstrated when a local union president in Oakland, Calif., Clayton Pao, called a forum on military unionization recently.

Two days after Pao's leaflet hit the streets, Pentagon officials called him to find out what he was planning. Sen. Strom Thurmond (R-SC), convinced he had discovered evidence that the AFGE had at last launched its drive, read Pao's leaflet at a Senate Armed Services Committee

hearing.

A high-ranking Department of the Army officer, also mistaking the forum for an organizing campaign, called Pao from Washington and intimated the Army would shut the Oakland base down before allowing the meeting.

Even the AFGE leadership jumped, startled and annoyed by Pao's independent initiative. Queried by the Pentagon, AFGE vice president Harold "Mac" McLeod had to put the brass on hold while he called Pao to find out what was going on.

McLeod then spoke against Pao at the forum, arguing that the time was not yet ripe for the AFGE to tackle the military.

With three other unions already studying ways to get a piece of the action—the National Maritime Union, the Teamsters and the Association of Civilian Technicians—most observers expected the AFGE would move quickly after last September's convention vote.

AFGE president Ken Blaycock still says he's convinced the enlisted men want a union. "If the AFGE decides not to move," he told *U.S. News and World Report* recently, "the military will organize anyway. They may turn to the Teamsters; they may turn to some of the independents; they may convert their own military professional organizations to unions. I don't know; but they will organize."

Neither opposition from Congress nor the Pentagon's understandably cold shoulder explains the union's hesitation. Congress has so far passed no law forbidding military unionization. And the Defense department has even amended a Vietnam-era directive, deleting a paragraph that forbade base commanders from recognizing or bargaining with a serviceman's union.

The answer may lie in Mac McLeod's remarks at the Oakland forum. Noting that only 39 percent of all federal employees the union represents belong and pay



dues, he urged a delay in military organizing until the AFGE's civilian ranks could be swelled.

"Let's concentrate on doubling our membership from the ranks of those we already represent," he wrote later, reiterating his former remarks.

McLeod might also have mentioned that AFGE membership has dropped by 55,000, or 17 percent, in recent years.

As membership has dropped the AFGE has also done poorly in its annual negotiations with the Federal Pay Board. The result, according to the Congressional Budget Office, has been a more than 12 percent decline in real wages for federal employees—and thus a drop in AFGE stature.

AFGE national leaders sense their vulnerability. If the AFGE brought on a showdown with the government over a soldiers' union, and in the process drained

its budget, split its membership and incurred the wrath of Congress, the union could lose what little muscle and goodwill it's managed to win in its 44-year history.

So far, AFGE leaders have turned down proposals for even a modest pilot program, as suggested by Oakland's Pao, who already has a majority of his local ready to launch a drive on the Bay Area's bases.

Union leaders claim that "the sense of the [September] convention" was for a full study and a referendum of the locals before starting any organizing. But Pao and many others dispute that interpretation. The national AFGE office itself was talking about starting a drive over the winter, they note, until the executive council met and decided otherwise.

Some AFGE leaders are even advocating something short of a full-blown union—probably an association—according to former AFGE consultant David Cortright.

They are also alleged to have initiated discussions with the relatively conservative military professional associations, like the Fleet Reserve Association and the Air Force Sergeants Association.

The union denies it, however. "It's cut and dry," says spokesman Bernie Zwinack. "We either represent the people in the military, or we don't. They'd be no affiliation between the organizations."

Meanwhile, GIs have been literally begging to be signed up. Green Beret paratroopers with the 10th Special Forces at Fort Devens, Mass., for example, formed a union committee last December. Blaycock claims the union has received thousands of requests from GIs to join up.

Surprisingly, AFL-CIO chief George Meany has not come out against the GI union plan of the AFGE, one of its affiliates. This disappointed many Pentagon planners who were counting on the generally pro-military labor leader to nip it in the bud.

Independent groups outside the union have also been taking the pro-union message to barracks in Washington D.C., New York, Berlin and San Francisco. Some of them stress issues the union has tried doggedly to avoid: an end to saluting, elimination of sex and race discrimination and the right to resist illegal orders.

That kind of militant stance, which could easily bring on a backlash in Congress, may be what AFGE leaders fear most. And if rank-and-file pressures to organize build up to the point where the AFGE can't control them, it may be exactly what happens.

Steve Rees is editor of a soon-to-be-published newspaper called *Enlisted Times*.

Support still strong for military union

An April survey of 21,000 active duty GIs conducted by Citizen Soldier, a military-rights organization, once again has indicated that strong pro-union sentiment exists among many GIs today.

The survey, in the form of an eight-page tabloid newspaper, was mailed to uniformed members of all service branches at American military installations around the world. The newspaper presented a brief history of the American trade union movement, with particular emphasis on public-employee unionism. Along with an analysis of some of the problems and issues facing enlisted GIs today, it contained a questionnaire that solicited each reader's opinion of the controversial issue of unionization.

To date, Citizen Soldier has received questionnaires from 2 percent of those polled, considered a good rate of return. Overall, 45 percent of the respondents stated that they favored a soldiers' union. An additional 34 percent checked the "undecided" column, requesting more information. Only 21 percent were flatly opposed to unionization.

Of the total respondents, 78 percent were from the enlisted ranks, while 17 percent were officers. This corresponds roughly to the proportion of officers to enlisted personnel in the military as a whole. Not surprisingly, the lower-ranking enlisted members registered the greatest degree of support for a union (61 percent) but middle and senior level non-commissioned officers also demonstrated considerable pro-union sentiment—41 percent "yes" and 41 percent "undecided." Even among the lower echelons of

the officer corps (lieutenants, captains and warrant officers) only half of the respondents were opposed to unionization under any circumstance.

A number of soldiers and sailors attached personal notes and letters to their survey forms:

An Airman stationed in Germany: *I was a union member (Brewery Workers) before I joined...due to a layoff and faced with debts, I enlisted—the same old story. I'm disgusted with all this talk of great benefits, job satisfaction and how the chain of command will solve all your gripes. I realize that we can't have a union with the powers the one at the brewery had, however, we need a voice. I don't know where they come up with statistics that only 30 percent of the Air Force favors unionization—it's bull. I firmly believe a union would benefit all military members.*

A soldier in Texas: *I have a long career behind me...be damned sure these grievances don't fall into the wrong hands. A change is long overdue when the Secretary of Defense can deprive the military of their rights. We do as much as anyone to preserve the Constitution...yet we're not entitled to the rights we fight and die to preserve. Remove from commanders the often abused power of "administrative action" such as "control rosters" and "administrative discharges" which rob the individual of his day in court... We need a strong and clear signal sent to Congress that we are sick and tired of seeing them strip away our benefits one by one."*

A soldier in Germany: *I agree with you 100 percent that soldiers need a union, especially the lower-ranking enlisted men... If the people knew half of the story over here, what we have to go through, cramped living conditions, greasy food, undue harassment...tell me the New Army works and I'll tell you it sucks! Don't get me wrong, we work our asses off—sometimes until nine at night. And for what? About 96 bucks a week by my pay. When I get out, they can find someone else, some other sucker that a recruiter lied to—just like they lied to me. After all, we're just human robots, we don't have any rights...just a number!"*

Air Force Sergeant, Washington state: *How many people share the bathroom where you reside? Your dining room? Your bedroom? Does your salary rise with the cost of living? Do you receive overtime pay? Must you wear a uniform? Do you have an adequate promotion system? These are only a few of the grievances I have. They are sufficient grounds for the AFGE to unionize the armed forces...*

Sailor aboard ship, Atlantic: *If you think I'm bitter, you're right. I just don't care anymore. I have three years left before I can retire and I'll only be an E/5 since I can't pass the written test with a high-enough score... I could write a book about how money and manpower is wasted... only in the Navy would a man have to wear a coat and tie while he ties up a ship's lines.*

—Michael Uhl and Tod Ensign

Michael Uhl and Tod Ensign work with Citizen Soldier in New York.

ELECTIONS

Electoral defeat in L.A.

By Dave Lindorff
LOS ANGELES—The electoral left here suffered a severe blow this spring when two left candidates for state assembly and a third for city council were trounced by the establishment political forces.

Despite high hopes for at least one left victory, two new establishment Democrats were elected to traditionally Democratic assembly seats and the city council's longest-term member took his seat for still another term—while three left candidates began analyzing the causes of their defeat.

Ruth Yannatta.

In West Los Angeles, Ruth Yannatta came in second, with 27 percent of the vote, behind Mel Levine (30 percent). While she lost by only about 1,500 votes, the loss is significant because the campaign had been targeted by the California Campaign for Economic Democracy, and because the district is considered to be one of the most liberal in the state.

The district went to Tom Hayden in his unsuccessful campaign against former Sen. John Tunney for the Democratic nomination for the U.S. Senate last year. It also supported the unsuccessful Farmworkers' Initiative and Nuclear Safeguard ballot measure. It didn't go for Yannatta.

Money wasn't the problem as it was for the other two campaigns. Yannatta's campaign spent nearly \$100,000 compared to Levine's \$140,000.

According to Yannatta, the problem was that there simply weren't enough liberal voters. She claimed her organization's post-mortem of the vote, precinct by precinct, showed that she had garnered nearly all the liberal Democratic vote, while Levine, who was endorsed by Sen. Alan Cranston and Sen. Hubert Humphrey, collected the conservative Democratic and liberal Republican vote. "I'm not sure I could have won, given my strategy of going to the liberals and radicals in the community," Yannatta told *IN THESE TIMES*. oddly, the Yannatta campaign tended to ignore those who had despaired of the

electoral process. Little effort was devoted to registering new voters. "Our sense was that those who weren't registered didn't want to be," said Yannatta.

Several Yannatta volunteers maintained as well that very little effort was made to get out the minority vote. Yannatta confirmed this.

While claiming that "we did extensive work in the Japanese and Chicano areas," she added that the overall effort, especially among blacks, was minor.

"The truth is that minority groups don't vote," she said. "It's one of those myths that needs a lot of discussion. If you're doing movement politics, you do well with minorities, but not in elections."

Despite Yannatta's attempt to put a good face on the outcome, the mood at her defeat-night party last month was disappointment. For a while she had been considered a front-runner, but as most of her opponents dropped out and it became a two-candidate race, she lost momentum and, ultimately, the race.

James Stanbery and Burt Wilson.

The best effort came in the city council race, where Peace and Freedom party member James Stanbery took 35 percent of the vote in a run-off against City Council member John Gibson, a conservative Democrat.

Run-offs against incumbents are rare in Los Angeles, and Gibson was so surprised at having Stanbery as an opponent that he ran an unabashed, old-fashioned red-baiting campaign against him, calling him a "Communist" and an advocate of the violent overthrow of the U.S. government—both not true, said Stanbery.

But as the young Harbor College political science professor observed, "It worked."

The candidate who fared worst was consumer advocate Burt Wilson, who, like Yannatta, was seeking a state assembly seat. Outspent three to one by the winner, moderate Democrat Mike Roos, Wilson came in near the bottom in a field of 12 Democrats.

Wilson summed up the problem faced by all three candidates, though he was referring only to his own campaign. "We failed to get our issues across. I ran as a consumer, but the issue in the campaign was law and order."

Both Yannatta, a consumer activist who has served as assistant director of Gov. Jerry Brown's new Consumer Affairs Department, and Wilson, a well-known fighter against the state's utilities industries, may have been victims of what a recent Harris poll found to be general consumer dissatisfaction with consumer activists.

As Wilson sees it now, consumer issues are not a good basis for a campaign. "The problem is, if you save people money, they don't see it," he said. "There's no general feeling of victory, because prices keep rising. The only people who know when you win something are the people involved. It's preposterous, but that's the reality."

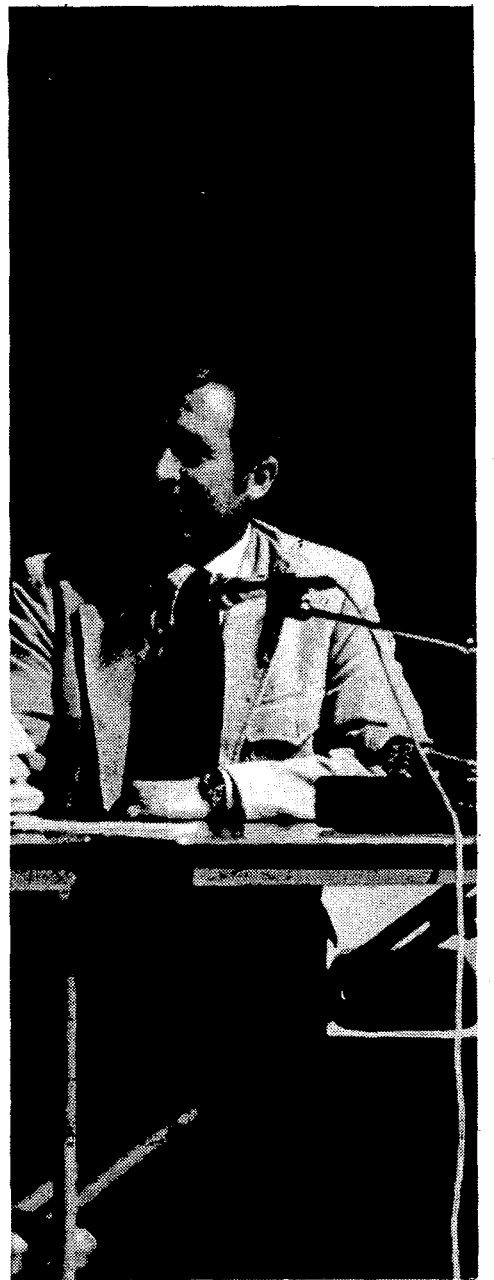
Wilson, chair of the Los Angeles chapter of the Democratic Socialist Organizing Committee, had soft-pedaled his socialist positions during the campaign, to the point of even trying to have mention of his title in DSOC deleted from a local newspaper article. He now thinks that was a mistake.

In a post-election interview with an *L.A. Times* reporter Wilson said the next time he runs he will run as a democratic socialist—out front. As he told *IN THESE TIMES*, "The main thing it would do is get some attention for the campaign. It was very dull, and the media ignored it entirely. I wasn't able to even do any consciousness raising."

The question raised by all three campaigns is: should left candidates run to win or to raise issues? Particularly in the Wilson and Yannatta cases, where the candidates actually felt they had a chance to win, they soft-pedaled or back-pedaled on positions, and in the end there seems to be little to show for the work and money spent.

But all three candidates believe there is a "next time."

The question left from from all three left electoral campaigns in L.A. is whether candidates should run to win or raise issues... or how to do both.



Burt Wilson's loss in the race for a State Assembly seat was the biggest disappointment. He landed near the bottom in a field of 12.

By Frank Warner
WASHINGTON—Government bureaucrats who try to prevent their subordinates from disclosing government corruption, waste and deceit may begin to have a more difficult time if some 200 people, including many federal employees, who gathered in Washington late last month have their way.

The occasion was a "Conference on Whistleblowing" June 24-25, sponsored by the Institute for Policy Studies' Project on Official Illegality. Highlighted by testimony from prominent whistleblowers, the conference began to wrestle with the difficult problems facing individuals who reveal government wrongdoing.

Criticism focused on the civil service system, which Robert Vaughn, associate professor of law at American University, called a system that "enforces conformity and does not encourage personal responsibility."

Dr. J. Anthony Morris described his treatment at the hands of that system. At a time when his superiors promoted—and four major drug companies geared up for—the swine flu vaccination program, Dr. Morris wrote the *New York Times* and others to criticize the program as worthless and even dangerous. A week later he was fired.

The result in his case was that some 40 million Americans were vaccinated against a "non-existent disease" and more than 400 were killed by the vaccination. Morris argued that a law was needed that would provide some sort of protection to people who want to dissent.

Alan Campbell, chairman of the U.S. Civil Service Commission, told the conference that in order to make appeals of management actions against federal employees more fair he might propose splitting the Civil Service Commission into

THE BUREAUCRACY

How to make whistleblowing safe

Highlighted by prominent "whistleblowers," the Washington conference grappled with the current lack of support or protection for those who expose government wrongdoing.

two independent agencies, with one body to handle appeals.

But Campbell, who got a little testy under continued questioning, said he had not yet developed any specifics—that would fulfill President Carter's 1976 campaign promise "to seek stronger legislation to protect our federal employees from harassment or dismissal if they find out and report waste or dishonesty." He did say, however, that "when dissent is inconsistent with the mission of an agency, management must be able to deal with it."

A. Ernest Fitzgerald, the Air Force efficiency expert whose job was abolished after he told Congress of \$2 billion in cost overruns on the C-5A airtransport program, countered this by pointing out that federal agencies often have both "stated goals" and "real goals," which are not always consistent with one another. The conflict between the two is what leads many federal employees to feel very bitter about their agencies.

They think they are doing their jobs properly and cannot understand when their actions meet with disapproval.

Fitzgerald stressed the importance of federal employees knowing the real mission of their agency. Not knowing the real goals might lead a federal employee to lose a promotion or a job by accident. Disagreeing with the real goals ought not to be done without careful thought, he explained, because "you can't count on help."

He pointed out that the legal work to get him another job with the Air Force had cost some \$400,000. And unless the Supreme Court orders those legal fees paid by the government, it is unlikely many lawyers will be willing to take similar cases in the future.

Ralph Nader put in an unexpected appearance at the conference and observed that as things are now, "if you do your job, you lose your job." He recommended the establishment of a "whistleblow-

er's fund," supported by a voluntary checkoff system.

The checkoff system, said Nader, would provide government workers an easy way to contribute a little of their monthly paychecks to pay for full-time lawyers and staff who would be able to defend whistleblowers in court, sue government lawbreakers, give advice to employees, lobby for new legislation and hold more public conferences on whistleblowing.

The conference discussed possible legislation such as an "Openness in Government Act" that the Project of Official Illegality has drafted. It would make government officials personally liable for any retaliation against employees who in good faith speak out against the actions of their agencies. It would also allow employees who have been abused to go directly to court with their problems and recover attorneys' fees if the courts found in their favor.

U.S. Sen. Patrick Leahy (D-VT) had staff members at the conference encouraging federal workers to come and present information for a project he has begun to determine the extent of official illegality and what sorts of remedies might be adopted to curtail it. As part of that project he has sent a letter to federal employees asking for information on the whistleblowing problem.

Though the incidence of whistleblowing has increased in recent years, it was clear that there was a long way to go before those who risk their careers and futures would be protected, if not actively encouraged, in their efforts to bring efficiency and honesty to governmental affairs.

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IN THE WORLD

Israeli workers back Labor

The Labor party stayed in control of the Histadrut, Israel's labor federation, but Likud gained support.

Elections to the Histadrut, Israel's general federation of labor, took on unusual importance this year. They followed by one month the May 17 "revolution" in which the official Likud coalition ousted the Labor alignment after two generations of continuous rule, stretching back to the pre-state era.

Labor managed to maintain its hold on the workers' organization, garnering 56 percent of the vote, only a two percent drop from its 58 percent total in 1973. But Likud increased its vote dramatically, from 22 percent in 1973 to 29 percent.

The results are paradoxical. Likud's recent gains reflect a deep dissatisfaction among Israelis with the economic situation and with the Labor establishment's corruption and degeneration after so many years in power. But the support for Labor in the Histadrut reflects some class consciousness among Israeli workers, who understand that the Likud policies of uncontrolled "free" enterprise, unemployment to fight inflation and compulsory arbitration are against their interests.

Socialist beginnings.

Founded in 1920 by the few thousand Jewish pioneers then trying to settle the country, the Histadrut was never a typical trade union movement. Its main function was to provide otherwise non-existent cultural and social services to its members. Politically, it was the tool of utopian socialists within the Zionist movement who believed that without the creation of a Jewish working class there would be no Jewish national home—at best it would be a colony living on the backs of Arab labor.

They were an idealistic lot, intent on turning a substantial portion of European Jewry—mostly urban in position and outlook—into a new, rural-based proletariat. The movement fought Jewish employers in Palestine who were hiring the cheaper, more plentiful Arab laborers. Thus the seeds of a national conflict were sown. The few attempts to organize Jews and Arabs together failed.

By the 1930s, the Jewish labor parties, based in the Histadrut and led by David Ben-Gurion, held undisputed control of the Zionist movement. The labor movement at least partly controlled many new industrial enterprises, and it organized nationwide health and transportation services. By 1948, the Histadrut had become a shadow government for the solidifying Jewish community of over half a million.

Capital for land purchases, development and industrial investment was only to be found abroad, however. And the donors, especially the large ones, were not socialistically inclined. They maintained some direct control of their money's use in private investment and in institutions such as the Jewish National Fund, but they basically had little to worry about. The Jewish labor movement saw its main task not as a struggle against capital—that could come later, if at all—but as the leading force of the movement to build a Jewish national home in Palestine, by whatever means necessary. As long as the workers' movement proved most effective in pursuing this goal, its class rivals were willing to cooperate.



Prime Minister Menachem Begin (left) presides over his first cabinet meeting in Jerusalem, June 26. Seated around the table from his left are two cabinet secretaries, Defense Minister Ezer Weizmann, Agriculture Minister Ariel Sharon, Immigration Minister David Levi, Education Minister Zevulun Hammer and Foreign Minister Moshe Dayan.

Haves against have-nots.

Only later was the Histadrut's "trade union department" founded. It actually created most local unions, the reverse of the process in normal capitalist development, where local unions band together to form federations. The unions were thus centrally controlled: to this day the Histadrut leadership is elected nationwide, on a party basis, not from shop representatives.

And the Histadrut's role as boss has grown as Israel has developed into an advanced capitalist society. It is the second largest employer (after the government), especially in large-scale industry and services. Thousands of workers not organized in local unions join it solely for its health

insurance. All in all, about 80 percent of the population belongs (Arabs have been accepted as members since the '60s).

Thus, it is not surprising that workers farthest from positions of power, especially the young, the poor and the Oriental Jews, do not see the Histadrut or the labor establishment that founded it as their representative. These sectors voted most heavily for the Likud in both elections. David Shaham, Labor party activist until 1975, wrote in *New Outlook* (June-July, 1977) explaining Labor's defeat in the general elections, that it "ceased maintaining its socialist content, developing instead a mixture of lip service to ideological principles...and a pragmatic approach...total-

ly bound to the goal of developing the economy at any price and of course, the prime goal of staying in power.

"Matters came to such a point that at times, the main struggle of the workers' parties was waged against the workers' desire to improve their condition. Most strikes are wildcat strikes by employees of the state, which was controlled by the labor movement, and against the labor federation, which acts as a tool of state rule."

He goes on to describe how managers of state and Histadrut controlled institutions, bent laws to increase drastically their standard of living. "All this was covered by a curtain of hypocrisy. On May 1, the red flag flew over heavy industrial plants, big banks, the large insurance companies and retail chains, over tax offices and health clinics—over all the bodies and institutions which the people on the street did not envisage as belonging to them or to the working class, but on the contrary, as collectively representing the exploiting class. All sorts of 'yes'-men stood at attention at their conventions to the sound of the 'Internationale.' The labor movement's ideology came to be that of the 'haves.' The 'have-nots' found consolation elsewhere."

Labor wins back voters.

Yet despite the Likud gain, Labor came out of the Histadrut election still in firm control. Some of the reasons are the same as those that always gave Labor bigger victories in the Histadrut than in parliament: some workers support the right's ultra-nationalism, but vote Labor in the Histadrut out of a consciously-perceived class interest. (They fail, of course, to perceive the connection between Israel's defense expenditures—35 percent of its GNP—and the economic burden that workers are forced to bear). Also, the hard core of the right's truly capitalist members and their ideological supporters are not Histadrut members.

In the recent campaign, Labor very effectively used the spectre of unemployment (openly advocated by the new Likud finance minister Simha Erlich) to win back some voters; others were shocked by the result of their anti-Labor "protest vote" in May. Many, especially Histadrut employees, were wary of the Likud's plan to sell profitable Histadrut enterprises

Continued on page 10.

Begin forms cabinet

On June 20, one day before the Histadrut elections, Likud leader Menachem Begin presented his government to the new parliament and won the confidence of 63 out of 120 of its members. The coalition includes Likud's 43 seats (three factions: Begin's ultra-nationalist Herut, Finance Minister Simha Erlich's strongly pro-capitalist Liberals, and La'am, a conglomeration of small parties led by a former associate of Ben-Gurion's faction); Gen. Arik Sharon's Shlomzion (two seats), which is now totally integrated with Likud; and the National Religious party (12 seats), always a partner of Labor in the past, which has grown closer to the Likud's chauvinism. The NRP received the important Interior Ministry (now including the police), Education (always held by Labor in the past) and Religious Affairs.

The ultra-orthodox Agudat Yisrael party (five seats) refrained from accepting cabinet portfolios, but agreed to support the government in exchange for some key parliament committee positions and a few additional theatrical concessions, such as repeal of the relatively liberal abortion law, stricter Saturday blue laws, and exclusive recognition of orthodox converts to Judaism. Finally, Moshe Dayan abandoned Labor to accept the foreign ministry, a move that aroused protest among bereaved 1973 war families, who consider him responsible for Israeli

losses, and, at first, even among some Likud leaders.

Negotiations were held with the new Democratic Movement for Change (15 seats), which had hoped to be in a pivotal position after the election. But Begin was able, and obviously preferred, to form a government without the DMC. The official unbridgeable difference was Begin's refusal to endorse what the DMC (and Labor) consider the principle of "territorial compromise" in exchange for peace. A Begin acceptance of some similar formula under international pressure could provide a rationale for DMC's joining later.

There are several ways in which Begin might lose his majority. Some of the Liberals in the Likud, who historically opposed religious coercion, may rebel when Begin's promises to the religious parties come to a vote. If Begin stands up to American pressure, and a break in relations or war is the only alternative, some of these same Liberals, or perhaps some of the religious MPs may bolt.

Such an occurrence would lead to new elections, unless Begin—a man intensely devoted to his principles—refuses to step down and resorts to undemocratic rule. Some very reasonable people think that he is quite capable of such a move, if he perceives that enough of the key power-holders and masses support him. —David Mandel

The Russians

"You ever see a Commie drink water?"

Part I

By Louis Menashe

*I'm always thinking of Russia,
I can't keep her out of my head,
I don't give a damn for Uncle Sam,
I am a left-wing radical Red.*

—H.H. Lewis, *Thinking of Russia*, 1932

Back in the '30s, for friends or foes of socialism, Soviet Russia was socialism. Or, at least, trying to build it. If you thought about socialism, you couldn't get her out of your head. In those days, every radical was a sort of doctoral candidate in Soviet studies, primed with data about economic development, ready to footnote a political argument with a reference to Stalin, or Trotsky, or Bukharin, and capable of reciting the major resolutions from Party or Comintern congresses. Foes of socialism (and some of its friends, too) were, of course, fond of citing Soviet contra-indications: murderous political feuds, reports of starvation in the countryside, forced labor camps.

Later, most radicals—especially those born during or after World War II, would have trouble distinguishing Bukharin from Bakunin. The easy and natural identification of socialism with Soviet Russia had crumbled. For a generation growing up in an epoch of global revolution and counter-revolution, with colossal transformations agitating the Third World and the late capitalist societies, socialism connotes new models, new definitions, new personalities. Mao, Marcuse, Che, Berlinguer? Of course. Brezhnev and Kosygin? Maybe; maybe not.

Coldwar propaganda.

Yet, deep within American political folklore, the association of Soviet Russia with socialism remains. "Did you ever see a Commie drink a glass of water?" asks Gen. Jack D. Ripper in Stanley Kubrick's film of 1964, *Dr. Strangelove*. "Vodka, that's what they drink, don't they?" he answers himself.

Or the association remains of Soviet Russia with radicalism in general. Looking down from his office at the Justice department during Vietnam Moratorium demonstrations in Washington in November 1969, then Attorney General John Mitchell muttered that "it looked like the Russian revolution going on." At a public protest in New York against the Nixon/Kissinger "incursion" into Cambodia the following spring, a woman shouted at me, "Go to Russia! Go to Russia!" (It so happened I was preparing for a research trip to Moscow that summer, so I shouted back, "I'm going! I'm going!")

Gen. Ripper didn't say that commies drink green tea; Mitchell wasn't reminded of the Long March; and that woman didn't

advise me to go to Havana. No matter that for many leftists the torch of militancy had passed from Moscow to Peking or Havana; or that only with many serious qualifications could the Soviet Union be described as socialist. For ordinary Americans as for the corporate elite and its political/military agents, Soviet Russia equals communism equals socialism.

Heaps of cold war propaganda linking all movements for social change, at least in part, with Moscow were responsible for this attitude. The architects of American globalism aimed "to scare hell out of the American people," as it was put back in the early days of the cold war, during the Truman administration. Stretching the military budget to unheard-of peacetime levels depended on convincing Congress and the public that every peasant insurrection or trade union struggle had its source in Moscow. Former Secretary of State Dean Rusk once described the People's Republic of China as a "Soviet Manchukuo"—an allusion to the puppet status of Manchuria under the Japanese before World War II. In short, socialism as an animating ideal of political movements east and west was translated into the sinister design of an aggressive, expansionist military power, the USSR.

That image remains, although time and events have dulled its cruder edges: Americans now know, for example, that the Chinese don't like the Russians and that American presidents and secretaries of state don't always tell the truth and that socialism is not such a dirty word. Still, a certain obsessiveness about the USSR prevails—not always negative.

Wisdom from abroad.

It's not simply that Soviet Russia has an enormous global presence now as the second largest industrial power and the second most potent military force. Other, less tangible ingredients begin to color the picture: the Russians as an exotic people on the border of Europe and Asia; the romance, even for its detractors, of the Bolshevik revolution and the first attempt to mold a socialist society against tremendous odds; and finally, enormous curiosity about a social system not based on private property, possessive individualism, and the entrepreneurial ethos—and not about the halfway houses of Scandinavian socialism either, but about presumably the real thing.

Recent developments have fed into this obsessiveness—detente; the SALT talks since 1972 and their current impasse; Solzhenitsyn and his thunderous moral/historical indictment of the Soviet system; the dissidents and their peculiar, lonely struggle championed by an authentic Russian martyr with technical credentials, the Soviet physicist Andrei Sakharov; the grain deals and other examples of proliferating East/West trade; the Soviets in Africa and the Middle East; and the problems of Jews in the USSR.

Communist-dominated Democratic Front for Peace and Equality increased its strength to 3 percent, as opposed to the 2.5 percent won by the CP in 1973, but after a 50 percent gain in the parliamentary elections a month earlier. Many of its Arab voters, too, switched back to the Alignment to prevent the latter from losing too much.

Disunity on the left.

Many voices in Labor are calling for renewed workers' militancy as the key to reviving the party. This may be easier now that the labor movement no longer has the job of steering the capitalist state. But serious conflicts still exist between chiefs of Histadrut-owned industry, which is run along hierarchical and profit-motivated lines like any other, and the masses of lower-level workers. The kibbutzim and other privileged cooperatives under Hista-



A director of a farmer's market in the Soviet Union. This is one of a series of photos by Meg Gerken taken during a visit to the Soviet Union last year.

Witness the spate of magazine articles and best-selling books about the Soviet Union. *Fortune*, *Time*, and *Forbes* are filled with cover stories with cutesy titles like "Capitalists of the World, Unite!" (a recent *Forbes* cover article about trading with the "communists"). To widespread acclaim and sales, the former Moscow correspondents of the *Washington Post* and the *New York Times*, Robert Kaiser and Hedrick Smith, have produced major studies of the USSR based on their experiences there: *Russia: The People and the Power* and *The Russians*.

Obsessiveness remains.

What has the left contributed to thinking about Russia? Has the left been able to answer with clarity the renewed curiosity about the USSR and about Soviet socialism? It's important to understand that these days socialism is not simply a subject of sectarian definition but a topic of practical concern among growing numbers of Americans in all walks of life who have come to the grim conclusion that capitalism in the U.S. no longer functions effectively or humanely. Is socialism a work-

able alternative, they ask, and does the USSR suggest an acceptable model? (This is the sort of question I hear regularly from my students.)

Unfortunately, no coherent answer has come from the left. Too often the left has only riddled the question with transparent apologetics or doctrinaire mystifications. Above all, what the left has failed to do is think for itself. Somehow, analytical wisdom has always seemed to come from abroad: in the old days, from Moscow; more recently, from Peking. What has been lacking is an open, historical sensibility that appreciates that socialism is not some uniform, universal thing and panacea; that its particular Soviet application is a unique correlation of ideology, cultural background, and material-economic conditions. And that other societies will generate other correlations.

Next week: a survey of theories and perceptions of Soviet society.

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Histadrut

Continued from page 9.

and close others, nationalizing those which were too vital to close.

And finally, the significant Likud gain was hidden by voters who abandoned other parties to prevent an Alignment loss: the new Democratic Movement for Change, close to the Alignment on foreign policy but closer to the Likud on economics, dropped from 12 percent in the May elections to 7 percent in the Histadrut elections; the Independent Liberals and the Citizens' Rights party won 1.2 percent each in May, 1 percent total now; the Religious Workers dropped from over 4 percent in 1973 to under 2 percent; the parties comprising the left-Zionist Sheli won 2.7 percent in 1973, 1 percent now; the

drut auspices were outstandingly active in mobilizing for Labor's campaign; they too are culturally and socially alienated from urban workers.

Perhaps groups to the left of Labor should be able to make inroads among these urban workers, especially when the Likud proves unable to pull off an economic miracle. But there is little unity in the theoretical perspective or in practice—the Communist party is strictly orthodox and pro-Soviet Union (generally considered national enemy number one), the left-Zionists see their task as one of reconstructing the discredited Labor movement, and two Trotskyist factions do not get along with each other or with anyone else.

Even for those who avoid these pitfalls, the whole left suffers for being "outside the national consensus" on the Palestinian question and foreign policy. Thus, most efforts are concentrated on the

"peace" issue; a settlement that would greatly lessen the danger of war would better enable the left to get its message across on other matters.

David Mandel is an editor of *New Outlook* in Tel Aviv and a member of Shasi.

Correction:

There were several editorial errors in "Korean probe may sink U.S. envoy" (ITT, June 8). The headline was inaccurate, since the author did not suggest that Philip Babib, Carter's envoy to South Korea, would be sunk. Secondly, the editors added that "investigations have so far failed to get off the ground," not specifying "administration investigations." And the omission of a paragraph implied that Donald Ranard, former chief of State department's Korean Desk, had blamed his former boss, Philip Habib, for a cover-up of the Korean scandal.

FRANCE

French left falters under pressure



Prime Minister Raymond Barre.

The French left is favored to win in 1978, but the right is trying to divide the Socialists and Communists. In his debate with Prime Minister Raymond Barre, Socialist Francois Mitterrand gave new hope to this strategy.

PARIS—“The victory of the socialo-communist coalition in 1978 will be irreversible for the coming generation. France will topple into another world,” predicts Robert Hersant, who over the past months has been buying up much of the French press, thanks to connections in high places.

The press lord, who has taken over control of *Le Figaro* and *France Soir* in addition to a number of provincial publications, calls the Common Program a blueprint for totalitarianism. When it is pointed out that the Common Program says that “the freedoms of thought and expression are guaranteed,” he dismisses that as “vague.”

Those who succumb to Hersant's powers of persuasion are likely to panic if the left wins. And there is no reason to expect that an utterly distorted portrayal of the left will cease once it is in office; on the contrary, that is when a hostile imagination can really go to work.

Since the French right is not scandalously fascist, its lies and distortions will probably be readily echoed abroad, especially in West Germany and the U.S., where an anti-Communist public ignorant of French society will find them believable.

There is, indeed, plenty for the left to be nervous about as it climbs the steps of the “bourgeois state,” knowing it is an intruder and haunted by the fate of Allende. But the genuine problems and divisions of the left, as well as the genuine possibilities it offers, are being concealed behind a dramatization of those problems, staged with an eye to countering hostile propaganda and prejudice.

Nowhere was this more apparent than during the televised debate in May between Giscard d'Estaing's Prime Minister, Raymond Barre and Socialist party leader and 1978 presidential candidate Francois Mitterrand.

Up until the Barre/Mitterrand debate, Barre's economic policy seemed to have virtually no public defenders. Just two weeks earlier, the prime minister survived a confidence vote in the National Assembly only after Jacques Chirac's refurbished Gaullist party, the Rally For the Republic (RPR), let it be known that it was supporting the government only because it had no choice, not because it had any confidence. By taking his distance from the government, Chirac hopes to rally the large numbers of businessmen, especially small business, who feel threatened by the economic slump.

Then at the debate, Barre turned out to have an unexpected admirer: Mitterrand himself. Amidst gracious acknowledgements of Professor Barre's competence and even good intentions, Mitterrand complimented him on having “stopped the economic drop” that had gone unchecked under “your predecessor”—Chirac. Mitterrand sometimes seemed more anxious to make a distinction between Barre and Chirac than between himself and Barre.

Faced with Mitterrand's extraordinary deference, Barre grinned like the cat swallowing the canary and responded with the sarcasm of a professor showing off to his class at the expense of one of his duller students: “How interesting! Tell us more!”

As Mitterrand slogged down the road paved with good intentions, Barre led him easily into all the potholes of discord with his Communist allies. This was indeed where Mitterrand seemed to want to go, to show the bourgeoisie (who else would still be listening to such a boring debate?) that he was the wise, moderate but firm man who could keep the Communists in line.

Instead of the man in office and his unpopular austerity policies being put on the defensive, it was Barre who went after Mitterrand with interrogations about the

Common Program. Most of the press kindly blamed the Communist party's publication a few days earlier of its Common Program figures for Mitterrand's embarrassment. But he had no trouble disavowing the PCF figures. He jumped at the chance.

Mitterrand earnestly assured the obviously skeptical Barre that in the councils of the Union of the Left, “when we discuss, we discuss, and believe me, the Communist party listens more often than you seem to think. We'll explain this [the limits of the Common Program] to them, as we've already explained a lot of other things to them.” Having talked the Communists into agreeing to election of a European parliament, the Socialists could be relied on to continue making them see the light, he implied.

In this patent bid to gain the confidence of his adversaries on the right, the worst is not the calculations that show through but a certain touch of servility that could make it all ineffectual.

Message to the right.

The Socialist party leader and his advisors obviously chose in the debate with Barre to take the left for granted and deliver a few important messages to the right.

The first was that Mitterrand understood the economic “realities” as defined by Barre (France's star member of David Rockefeller's Trilateral Commission, it will be recalled). Thus he quickly dropped a class interpretation of the world economic crisis and shifted to a technical discourse, replete with shibboleths about the need to keep the trade balance on an even keel without resorting to protectionism, such as to bring nods of approval from the International Monetary Fund. Having abandoned a coherent intellectual basis for socialist policies, Mitterrand put his socialism on the sentimental level with a humanistic plea to remember that “man cannot be just a piece of machinery” and

that there is thus a “minimal need for social consent” to make any economy or society work.

As mediators between hard reality and human desire, the Socialists could be counted on to keep the Communists in line while keeping the social peace, the message to the right continued. In regard to the Common Program proposal to allow workers of a particular industrial firm to ask parliament to nationalize it, Mitterrand readily conceded that its “main danger” was that it might “arouse hope that it would be possible to become masters of an enterprise simply because they asked to.” But against all such dangers, a safeguard was at hand: “If I wanted to go further into this discussion, I would say, ‘But thank goodness there is a big Socialist party.’”

The confidence game.

After the debate, American columnist Joseph Kraft went to see Mitterrand and told him frankly he had found it “impossibly dull and abstruse, especially the not-inconsiderable part on international finance.” According to Kraft, Mitterrand replied with a pragmatism he would scarcely have shown in talking to the French press.

“Since we're ahead now, my interest is to keep things calm, to reassure people, to build confidence,” Mitterrand reportedly told Kraft. “Twenty of the 25 million people who watched the program probably don't know anything about international finance. The other five million probably don't know exactly where they stand. But by talking on that issue, I showed that I had some economic competence, that I wasn't a purely political figure. People have confidence in leaders who can talk economics.”

“So long as I keep their [the French people's] confidence, they're not going to be terrified of the Communists,” Mitterrand said later on in response to a question from Kraft, who spoke of “abundant evidence to show that the Communists would betray the country.”

Kraft concluded that Mitterrand could handle the Communists with great skill. “Still, his caution suggests to me that the election is far from being in the bag,” Kraft noted. “So it seems to me that the U.S. should refrain from doing anything that would weaken the chances, however slim, which the government parties have of barring the door to the Communists in France.”

The fear of betrayal.

But if Mitterrand gets elected through the Union of the Left in 1978, will he cast aside his Communist allies and betray the Common Program? Much of the PCF rank and file expects something of the sort to happen. The leadership's role is to show that it is doing its best to prevent the Socialists from using the unfavorable economic situation as a pretext for backing out of measures considered essential by the PCF's working class base. By publishing its figures, the PCF was insisting that from its point of view the Common Program was still realizable.

During a long television interview on May 18, a journalist abruptly asked Marchais if he considered Mitterrand a “loyal” ally. Marchais, who was answering all the other questions before they were fully uttered, was stopped cold by that one. It was the high point of the spectacle: twelve whole seconds of silence reported by the press like a new world record.

“I was not expecting that question,” he explained, before getting out of it gracefully by concluding, on careful reflection, that all parties to the Common Program had been honest and loyal with each other. The twelve seconds dramatized suspensefully the perils threatening Union, its fragility and great worth, for which Georges Marchais sacrificed a fifth of a minute of prime time to reflect...and for which he will no doubt make greater sacrifices in the future.

Diana Johnstone published the newsletter *Owl* in Paris.

Harry Bridges: 43 years at the helm

by Paul Shinoff

From the upper floor of the new headquarters building he can gaze across downtown San Francisco and between the corporate towers catch a glimpse of the open waterfront that has come to symbolize his life. He first landed on those docks in 1921, a young Australian seaman, grown tired of transient living, hoping to become a longshoreman in his adopted land.



The late James Matles of United Electrical Workers and Bridges.

He occasionally walks those docks today, dressed in a white shirt and tie that marks him as a man who works with his head, not his hands. But although his responsibilities have stretched from Alaska to San Diego to the islands of Hawaii, his heart and soul have remained here on the slowly rotting finger piers of his home port.

For 43 years he held the same position, making headlines and enemies, using his office as a platform to espouse political causes that brought world-wide fame and that made him the target of a 20-year campaign to damn and deport him.

"When they start calling me a labor statesman," Harry Bridges has often lectured his membership, "it's time to get rid of me." Though he gained such accolades and many more, Harry Bridges did not step down voluntarily.

40 years at the lead.

President of the International Longshoremen's and Warehousemen's union since 1937, Bridges is retiring in the shadow of a compulsory retirement clause written into the union's constitution two years ago. Long silent about his departure, Bridges finally acknowledged it on the last day of the union's recent Seattle convention when he unexpectedly rose to give a one sentence seconding speech for the man who will succeed him, Jimmy Herman of San Francisco.

Though closely associated with Bridges, and sharing many political ideals, Herman cannot be considered a protégé of the retiring leader. Harry Bridges, a man who defies neat anecdotes (those who know him end up describing him as "complicated") shares neither power nor prestige with anyone.

Several hundred thousand men and women have passed through this organization since the heady days of 1934—and the bitter, bloody waterfront strike that shaped the union. Yet this one man, with his guant, hawk-like features, his side-of-the-mouth Aussie accent, has come to symbolize them all. Now he is leaving, along with his one-time ally, now bitter antagonist, 67-year-old Secretary-Treasurer Lou Goldblatt. It is the end of an era.

Harry gave them dignity.

However remarkable it might seem, particularly to young or recent residents, San Francisco—indeed the whole Pacific coast—would be different if it had not been for Harry Bridges and the ILWU.

Still, it was no more than two generations ago that today's lords of the docks were the dregs of the waterfront. To be a

longshoreman then was to work among the casually employed, broken-down miners, seamen and roustabouts who survived in the cheap hotels by the docks. Straw bosses did the hiring and there were "little dukes" up and down the front who supplimented their incomes with bribes from men seeking jobs.

Land developers can tear down every sleazy seaman's saloon and rooming house, construct high rise hotels and restaurants from Fisherman's Wharf to Hunters Point, but that legacy will remain. And the 22-year-old fork lift driver, weaving through the damp hold of a bulk carrier on this old waterfront will still somehow know that without Harry Bridges he might as well be picking his toes across the Bay in Pinole.

"Harry gave these guys dignity. He stressed it again and again. He would say: 'You are important—it's not just what you do—it's also who you are,'" explains Sid Roger, a longtime ILWU member and labor journalist who was fired by Bridges from his post as editor of the union's newspaper in 1972, the result of one of the many internal disputes that have marked the ILWU.

Under government attack.

If Bridges' fortunes have risen with his union, he has also borne the brunt of the attacks to dismantle it. On four occasions the government sought to deport Bridges, accusing him of falsely swearing that he had never been a member of the Communist party. Twice he was convicted on that charge and twice the U.S. Supreme Court overturned the verdict. It was reported that at one time over 200 FBI agents were working full time to gather evidence against him.

Bridges went to jail only once, briefly in 1950 after he made a speech advocating a cease-fire in Korea. It was no small gesture, considering his members handled the bulk of military cargo bound for that war—as they did for Vietnam. (The heavy reliance on war material has always been a thorny issue for the ILWU—particularly in the midst of strikes—and a favorite point of attack on Bridges by far left groups. Though clearly opposed to the Vietnam war, he refused to take a leading role in the local protest movement. When his top officers, as well as his own family, marched in a 1967 San Francisco anti-war parade, Bridges watched—rather forlornly—from the curb.)

Longshoremen are generally more conservative than outsiders tend to believe and Bridges' political positions often caused deep divisions within his own

membership. A leaflet, circulated after the Korea speech and signed by the secretary of his home local, called him a traitor and urged that he be jailed.

Wasn't clear he'd step down.

In 1953, at the height of the legal campaign against Bridges, a stocky, bespectacled young seaman by the name of James Herman walked into the defense committee headquarters to volunteer his full-time services. Herman soon after joined the ships clerk local of the union. An able strategist and catalytic speaker, he rose quickly to its leadership. Now, 25 years later, his body and his glasses are a bit thicker and Jimmy Herman has been elected to succeed Bridges as the ILWU's second International President.

But that was no easy trick, particularly since Bridges refused to act like he was about to step down. He did nothing to discourage a grass roots drive that would have overturned the amendment that was driving him from office. It was a strange state of affairs that kept both Herman and another candidate, Johnny Parks of Portland, looking over their shoulders, waiting for the unpredictable Bridges to make a move.

"Harry's never done anything but longshore since 1921," explains a long time friend, Dave Jenkins, rather kindly. "He's not a butterfly collector, a cellist—he's got a lot of unfinished business to attend to."

Cut from the same mold.

At first glance it is curious that Bridges did not rush to adopt Herman as his own man, as they share many of the same qualities that make the ILWU style. Herman integrated his clerks local, once considered the elite and rather conservative wing of the ILWU. He laid early links to the farm laborer's organizing efforts in California. The Ship Clerks became the major bridge over which passed continual food and support for the fledgling United Farmworkers union. Locally, Herman has also been a key leader in a labor unity coalition that has mustered support for beleaguered unions and community issues.

Herman also projects the personal image that marks the leadership of this powerful, but isolated organization, a rough edged exterior that eschews small talk. It's not that he's not capable of a wide range of discussions, it's as though he rarely gets the opportunity.

"I remember once when Jimmy came over," recalls a close friend. "We spent all night talking about a variety of subjects that had nothing to do with labor. Walking out the door, he turned and remarked a bit sadly: 'It's been fun.'"

Longshoring has its own special language. When a man in the hold wraps a cable around a piece of cargo, he best make sure his fingers do not stray between the cinch and the load, less they be "caught in the bit." These days, that pretty well describes the painful position of the ILWU.

The union has always been isolated, geographically and politically, from the mainstream eastern-based labor movement. Bridges attempted to cross the gap when he led the ILWU into the newborn CIO in 1937, only to have it booted out again 14 years later for refusing to purge alleged communists.

No other group of workers had so successfully struggled for the job control that ILWU members enjoyed—one of their first contracts contained a provision for a six-hour day. Its organizers were in demand and were sent far afield, whether to assist in organizing Hollywood actors or Asian plantation workers in Hawaii.

While Bridges led the union, he was not enthused about the multi-faceted organizing drives—his heart remained on the waterfront. His bitter rivals, the late Jack Hall and retiring Secretary-Treasurer Lou Goldblatt, led the Hawaiian campaign, for instance. (Goldblatt, an intellectual with a masters degree in economics, was one of the many young radicals drawn into the ILWU in its early days.)

The Hawaiian campaign, the first successful organizing of farmworkers in the U.S., broke the feudal plantation system there and revolutionized the social system. Today, more than half the union's 50,000 members work on the islands of Hawaii.

Expansion days over.

The expansionist days of the ILWU, however, came to an end more than a decade ago. The warehouse division has found that it has either already organized the major employers in its areas or the companies have moved out of reach to Nevada and Utah. It now finds itself being drained trying to organize companies with as few as a dozen workers.

In Hawaii, the union has had to contend with American sugar companies expanding to the cheap labor markets of the Philippines and Africa. Now it must prepare for new contract talks with the market price for sugar at \$240 a ton and Hawaiian costs at \$297.

But the most serious challenge to the ILWU is in the longshore division, which Bridges has always called home. Here is where the union has, in a sense, become trapped by its own radicalism.

In 1960 the Pacific Maritime Association, representing the shipping lines, ceased fighting the union and integrated it as a junior partner in the industry with a "modernization and mechanization" agreement. The effects of the contract, in which the ILWU gave up job control in exchange for salary guarantees, were not clear until 1969.

Then the wind-down of the Vietnam war combined with a rapid shift to containerized cargo dropped the bottom out of longshoring. In a generation, the number of Pacific coast dock workers went from 25,000 to 12,000, with the average member getting 15 hours of work per week—while getting paid for 36.

A union on the dole.

"Most of us have years to do down here and anybody that thinks Mr. Boss is going to pay us for sitting around for the next 30 or 25 years just don't have his head on right," states Herb Mills, a union business agent.

In the Bay Area, under the current contract, the PMA could attempt to have San Francisco declared a "distressed port," and force the longshoremen to move to busier harbors or be removed from the union rolls.

To be sure, Bridges and the other leaders never conceived that the work could fall off so quickly. They believed they were buying insurance for occasional slow weeks. Now, this proud union finds itself living on the dole.

A case in point. In April a Dutch ship bearing cargo from South Africa tied up in San Francisco, were it was immediately picketed by anti-apartheid demonstrators. The ILWU has a longstanding policy condemning South African trade, so the pic-



Dispatch

lets expected the longshoremen would refuse to work the vessel. And in all likelihood, that would have occurred, if it had not been for a provision in the contract declaring that in the event of an "unauthorized" work stoppage, all longshoremen throughout the entire port lose their pay guarantee for the week. Several of the workers called the hiring hall, reported sick, and were immediately replace. The ship was unloaded on schedule.

All this has not been lost on Bridges, but his solution has been to try to liquidate the union through mergers with stronger allies. His model has been a British concept, the all encompassing transportation union. During the reign of Jimmy Hoffa he tried to bring the ILWU into the Teamsters and failed. Recently, he sought to bring the dock workers piecemeal into the International Longshore Association of the AFL-CIO. In this there were ironies aplenty, for it was the notoriously uncooperative ILA from which Bridges broke to form the ILWU 40 years ago.

Jimmy Herman will be joined by two oth-

er new officers from the ranks: Curtis McClain, the militant, often mercurial leader of the Bay Area's 9,500-member warehouse local as the new Secretary-Treasurer and Rudy Rubio, a young longshoreman from Los Angeles, is a new Vice President. Another Vice-President, George Martin of Hawaii, will remain.

Herman refuses publicly to speculate on the programs of the new leadership, though it will likely shelve the reaffiliation issue and is expected to take the next year to concentrate on upcoming contract talks in Hawaii and longshore.

"There will be a new philosophical approach," volunteers PMA's Ed Flynn. "But no, I'm not going to say what's going to happen. I have to deal with these fellas."

One dramatic change, already noted in Seattle, is the increasing participation of the union's lower level leadership, long bottled up under the rule of the old regime, bringing forward words and deeds reminiscent of a younger Harry Bridges. It may be a union more willing to take risks.

"We stand across a major artery in the economy and we control the hook," wrote Business Agent Mills in a leaflet to his members. "It's not that we're 'militant,' 'radical,' 'progressive' or any of that stuff. It's the power we have by standing where we are."

Even the traditional wing of the union seems to have been taken with a new spirit. A conservative longshoreman from Oregon announced at the Seattle convention that he, too, favored a South Africa boycott. "It's like motherhood and apple pie," he noted. But he warned against half-hearted measures and paper resolutions. The longshoremen had better be ready, he said, to take their lumps.

Growth in new areas.

The longshore division will survive, but growth, if it comes, will probably occur in the onetime subsidiary areas of warehousing and light industry. The warehouse local, which has always brought in office workers attached to the union shops, has long harbored plans to reach openly into white collar organizing, particularly the

data processing sections of the downtown financial industry. But such programs have been frustrated for lack of clear direction from the top.

And it's possible that the union's eager organizers might get help from an unexpected source—Harry Bridges himself. It is unlikely that he will just fade away. And there is a belief among friends and foes alike that free from the political infighting, he could be of great service and inspiration to younger workers.

"I want to say something that is painful," comments Sid Roger, who has known Bridges for 30 years. "Harry is a great man. I hate him to the bottom of my guts but he is a great human being. I'll always be sorry we can't talk. You see, I miss him in a curious sort of way. He is a person totally consumed with himself. Harry's a kind of guy who has spent his entire life making sure no one knew what he felt about anything. Yet he feels about everything. There will never be another like him."

Paul Shinoff is a free lance writer in the Bay Area specializing in labor.

IN THESE TIMES

Editorial

Public Solar energy battle is shaping up

While President Carter and Congress are developing energy plans that will put a double squeeze on consumers and working people—less oil and gas, at higher prices—a political battle that promises cheap power in many areas of the country is shaping up. The battle is for popular control and development of solar power, both for heating and for the generation of electricity.

The current battle centers in California, where the Southern California Gas company is trying to get control of the sun's energy through a proposal to the Public Service Commission for an \$11 million rate increase to finance the installation of solar heating units. This attempt has galvanized an opposition that, for the first time, has a practical alternative to the pro-corporate energy plans of the Carter administration.

The coalition consists of progressives, small business people and officials, including Gov. Brown's energy advisor. Its alternative plan, which has a good chance of winning substantial support from organized labor, provides for a public solar energy development bank, called SolarCal. The plan would allow for decentralized, privately or cooperatively owned heating units throughout the state. Not the least of its virtues is that the program would provide many thousands of jobs in the construction and manufacturing of solar heating systems.

This is in sharp contrast to the Carter energy program, which will continue the energy crisis by reinforcing oil company control of the country's energy resources, and will increase the cost to consumers—for example, by raising the ceiling price of natural gas to \$1.75, three times the 52¢ ceiling of two years ago. The Southern California Gas proposal would also cost the consumer five to ten times the amount that individually or cooperatively owned units would cost, and the utility would charge people for using the sun's energy, for ever and ever. Neither Carter's energy program nor Southern California Gas' proposal would provide significant numbers of new jobs because they place their emphasis on capital intensive technology, like nuclear power or liquified natural gas.

Solar energy is realistic.

The California State Energy Commission recently reported that solar space and water heating for residential and commercial use is now feasible and economical. NASA's Jet Propulsion Laboratory reported that using solar energy for these purposes could save 530 billion of the 1,680 billion cubic feet of natural gas now consumed annually in California. The gas saved could then be used by industry instead of oil, which is considerably more expensive and much more polluting.

While the cost of oil and gas is constantly rising (liquified natural gas, for example, will cost two or three times as much as the natural gas now more widely in use), the cost of solar energy—the basic technology for which is already developed—is going down and will continue to do so as components are produced on a larger scale. Solar electricity, however, will still require a large investment in research and development, but it, too, should be a practical source of power.

A winning political coalition.

The SolarCal approach, first put forward by the Campaign for Economic Democracy in California, promises to bring environmentalists, decentralizers, socialists, small business groups and organized labor together in an anti-corporate alliance. In contrast, anti-nuclear campaigns have been seen by many simply as spoilers—

Solar energy is only in its infancy as a source of heat and power, since the sun will be around as long as there are people on earth.

campaigns that will cost jobs without providing answers to the energy shortage.

SolarCal, however, provides an alternative to nuclear energy that is non-polluting and that is also highly labor intensive, especially in the retrofitting of home heating devices. As such, a large-scale program of solar heating would provide jobs all over the state for carpenters, plumbers, laborers, as well as jobs in manufacturing.

A meeting of labor leaders in California is scheduled early in July to discuss these possibilities. If the unions join with environmentalists and progressive anti-corporate forces in the state to press for a SolarCal program, they will help form a coalition with tremendous potential support. A recent *Newsweek* poll shows a 63 to 27 percent majority nationwide in favor of solar energy alternatives.

A public development bank.

An important aspect of the SolarCal idea is the proposal for a solar development bank to lend money to consumers and to small businesses. This would eliminate the initial outlays that now prevent many people from installing solar devices and it would allow for planning in the development of solar technology.

The development bank would be funded through self-liquidating revenue bonds, thus avoiding any cost to the taxpayers. This method of financing would cost consumers far less than development of liquified natural gas or atomic power, both of which would mean continuous and substantial increases in utility rates.

Solar heating, and the rapid development of solar electricity, on the other

hand, would provide competitive pressure on the utilities and would help to keep utility rates down—or, at least, it would keep rates from rising as rapidly as they have in recent years.

A mighty child.

Solar energy is now only in its infancy as a source of heat and power, but it clearly has a bright future, since the sun and its rays will be around as long as there are people on earth. The failure to develop solar energy until now can be attributed to the difficulties corporations will have—already are having—in harnessing the sun for private profit. It is an idea akin to selling the air we breathe.

Oil, natural gas and atomic power, of course, are also the common property of humanity—or should be. But because these resources are relatively scarce and difficult to obtain, their monopolization by private interests was a relatively easy task. Solar energy is there for all to see, however, and the time is clearly ripe for the people to claim what is theirs.

For information about the research and public education aspects of SolarCal, contact the California Public Policy Center, 304 S. Broadway, Rm. 224, Los Angeles, CA 90013.

JIM YANAGISAWA



THE FACTORY WITH RIFKA AND TROUTIGAN



Letters

All but unique

Editor:

I've been reading IN THESE TIMES almost from its inception and have often felt the impulse to send you a note of congratulation and support. Joshua Fuchs's superb column has finally gotten me to the typewriter. I've never read a more succinct, moving appeal to the left to end its foot-shuffling silence (in other words, its outright hostility) toward the struggle of gay people to win even elementary (housing, jobs) protection against discrimination.

IN THESE TIMES has long since heeded that appeal. You are all but unique among publications on the left (WIN also comes to mind) in accurately reporting the plight and consistently avowing the cause of the gay rights movement. As a gay man, I want to send you appreciation and admiration. As a human being on the left, I hope that others will follow your lead.

—Martin Duberman
New York

Poppycrack

Editor:

Shades of E.F. Schumacher! Your editorial ("Political Attitudes Are Changing," *ITT*, June 22) reveals some interesting ideas. The majority of Americans want to "break up big things and [get] back to more humankind living," and they also favor "teaching people how to live more with basic essentials." But if the same Harris poll had been taken last month, or 50 or 100 years ago, the results would probably be identical.

It's always nice to advocate simplicity, "getting back to nature," but if this line of thinking took hold a century ago, we would not have the standard of living we enjoy today. "Ah ha," you say. "That is the whole problem!" "We don't need such a high standard of living"—"It only brings headaches, over-crowding, centralization, inequalities, and turns out to be totally programmed people!"—"An Inhuman, Mechanized Society."

Well to that sir, I say poppycock! Just because there are problems that face our society does not mean that the ideals of free enterprise and the market economy should be abandoned for a more "equitable" and "simple" economic system—namely, Socialism.

Man was put upon this planet to create, to think. Man has been somewhat creative, but has not learned to think. The ultimate result of this unfortunate combination has been wars, pollution, overpopulation, starvation, etc. However, man should never give up his drive to achieve new heights, including, but

not limited to, improving his standard of living.

The free market economy far too often has been cast as the villain, but it is socialism that only inhibits man's creativity and encourages economic stagnation.

—James W. Kirkpatrick
Kansas City, Mo.

[Editor's note: You misunderstand us. We think our standard of living is not high enough, but that the only way to raise it now is to move toward a socialist society in which production is not restricted or distorted—from the point of view of human need—by the need to make profit.]

Good

Editor:

The first two issues of *ITT* have arrived and they're every bit as good as I'd been led to believe. Keep up the good work.

—Bill Hobson
Gig Harbor, Wash.

Better

Editor:

Please begin sending me a one year sub to your paper. I think it's an excellent alternative to the papers of the sectarian left. Keep up the good work.

—Catherine Squire
Berkeley, Calif.

Best?

Editor:

You are doing a wonderful job. As an ex-newspaperman I have been hoping for a publication of this sort for a long time.

—John H. Hereford
El Segundo, Calif.

The best he can say is that we're slavish followers of China or the USSR

Editor:

I don't like Menachem Begin's politics either, but what can possibly justify the sneering reference to a description of him as a "former guerilla"? Does that title apply only to those in the "steamy jungle"? Only to the image of Che Guevara? Not to Jews who fought British colonialism?

The matter would disturb me less if it were not another reflection of your consistent detestation of Israel, at its worst in the Allman articles. Those articles, written with a pretense of scholarship but with no scholarly substance, revealed such a distortion of judgment and sense of proportion in comparing the plight of the Palestinian Arabs dispossessed of their land with the historical situation of the Jews losing or running for their lives in the millions as to smell of anti-Semitism. That you publish such stuff and at the same time fail absolutely to present any serious analysis of the posturing Arab leaders whose

whole program for the people seems to be, Fight Israel, raises questions, also, about you. Are you, supposedly independent, unable to resist the tradition of following the foreign policy expediencies of, in this case, both China and the USSR? That is the most decent reading I can give.

If American Jews move to the right on account of the policies of Israel it will be a sad thing both for them and the left, but all the worse if that movement is abetted by this kind of left journalism. In any case, I've had enough. Cancel my subscription.

—David Shapiro
Los Angeles

[Editor's note: We are sorry to lose the sub, particularly because we do not detest Israel. In fact, we have gotten criticism both from left Zionists and from Palestinians and pro-Palestinians. We expect this will continue, since any attempt to recognize the rights of both Arabs and Jews will arouse deep sentiments on the part of some readers.]

Calumny and slander revisited

Editor:

Lawrence Fuchs in a letter (*ITT*, June 22) objected to characterizing Israeli Prime Minister Menachem Begin as a "racist." Unfortunately, David Mandel's use of the term (*ITT*, June 1) was accurate, and indeed could describe Israeli policy in general, and its ideological underpinnings. It is racist to permit any Jew (defined in Israeli law by religious criteria) to immigrate to Israel and immediately become a citizen with a host of special benefits while denying the right to a Palestinian Arab, whose family may have resided in the country for centuries, to return to home and property from which he or she fled, or was expelled, in 1948 or 1967. It is misleading to compare the Law of Return—which embodies this discriminatory policy—to affirmative action in this country.

Furthermore, Arabs in Israel do not enjoy, in law or administrative practice, full democratic rights. Such things as 18 years of military rule (formally abolished in 1966), harassment and suppression of political activity, expulsion without trial, land expropriations for exclusively Jewish settlements, discrimination against Arab towns and villages in development funds, etc., hardly constitute an "hospitable environment," of which Fuchs speaks.

As for Begin, for decades he has spoken for Israel's most chauvinist and anti-Arab elements and insists on an exclusively Jewish right to all of Palestine. He will undoubtedly continue the long-standing Israeli policy of denying Palestinian Arabs (the indigenous majority population of Palestine) the right to determine their own destiny and to secure their basic human rights in their own land. This will make further wars inevitable.

Fuchs asserts that we should expose and attack racism in "Iraq, Libya, Uganda, etc." I agree, but let's not be selective about it, like Jimmy Carter. It

is nothing but hypocrisy to condemn racism and oppression in some countries (like those Fuchs mentioned whose governments happen to be hostile to Israel) while pretending they don't exist in Israel, the U.S., and elsewhere.

—Zachary Lockman
Cambridge, Mass.

And again

Editor:

Perhaps Lawrence H. Fuchs (*Letters*, *ITT*, June 22) and I live in different worlds, but I thought that the Menachem Begin who is now Prime Minister of Israel was the same Menachem Begin who organized the Deir Yassin massacre.

Deir Yassin was a noncombatant, pro-Zionist Arab village. Begin's Irgun organized a pogrom against the villagers, killing 254 men, women and children, and throwing their mutilated corpses into wells. Survivors were paraded through the streets to be spat on. This massacre sparked the mass Arab flight from Palestine, as it was intended to do.

Begin took full credit for this act then and later. If the mass murder of peaceful Arabs for the sole crime of being Arabs doesn't constitute "racism," perhaps Prof. Fuchs can give us a better definition.

—Tom Condit
Berkeley, Calif.

Critical link

Editor:

It is great to see the increased coverage you are giving to grass roots/community organizing activities around the country. Your recent articles on the Brooklyn Greenlining campaign and on the National People Action conference give a good idea of the issues being addressed and the "mass base" that is developing around them.

The issues that community groups are addressing usually get at the need for democratic control of investment decisions. This is also something that the DSOC has made a high priority, along with a determination to get more involved in community-based organizing efforts.

I hope *ITT* will continue its coverage of community organizing in order to make the link between a socialist perspective and grass roots activism.

—Bob Groves
Philadelphia

Replaces Newsweek

Editor:

I enjoy your publication and I am not renewing my subscription to *Newsweek* magazine. Good luck.

—Jack A. Johnson
Independence, Mo.

More letters on page 17.

Editor's note: Please try to keep letters under 250 words in length. Otherwise we have to make drastic cuts, which may change what you want to say. Also, if possible, please type and double-space letters—or at least write clearly and with wide margins.

DIALOG

Prosperity and crime: a response to David Greenberg

Since my name came up in the course of the Dialog between David Greenberg and Roberta Lynch on crime and punishment, I'd like to comment on some of the issues raised—particularly Greenberg's claim that I "exaggerate" the impact of unemployment on crime rates.

As far as I know, nobody has ever argued that unemployment is the only source of high crime rates in the U.S. But Greenberg's effort to minimize its significance is seriously misleading. Two illustrations:

1. Greenberg cites Harvey Brenner's important research to the effect that "an increase in the unemployment rate of 40 percent led on the average to an increase in the homicide rate of 5.7 percent." "This," Greenberg concludes, "is not a big effect."

But, first, Greenberg misstates Brenner's conclusions. Brenner actually found that adding one percent to the unemployment rate increased the homicide rate by 5.7 percent over a period of five years. This puts the issue in a very different light. In Brenner's own interpretation, it means that relatively small increases in unemployment can account for a small but significant part of the overall murder rate, and a large and very substantial part of the increase in the murder rate.

An example: in 1969-70, the unemployment rate did in fact rise by 40 percent, from 3.5 percent to 4.9 percent. But the increase involved only 1.4 percent of the workforce. According to Brenner's model, that 1.4 percent raised the overall murder rate, during the years 1970-75, by 8 percent (not 5.7 percent). That's a substantial effect in itself, but more important it represents more than a third of the total change in homicide rates during the same period. In other words, rising unemployment doesn't explain all of the roughly 23 percent rise in murder in those years; but it explains a hell of a big chunk of it, if Brenner's analysis is to be believed.

Two things make these findings especially compelling. First, Brenner's study was concerned with the effect of changes in unemployment rates; put another way, with the effects of cyclical, rather than structural, unemployment on crime rates. But it's structural unemployment—concentrated in the cities and barely affected by cyclical changes in the economy—that we usually have in mind when we link unemployment with street crimes. So in addition to the demonstrably potent effect of cyclical fluctuations on crime, we have to add the continuing effect of long-term, "hard-core" unemployment.

Second, Brenner's findings are significant since they measure the impact of unemployment on homicide which is not only an extreme case, but a crime against the person. We'd expect an even more powerful relation between unemployment and property crime—which makes up the bulk of street crime.

2. Greenberg makes much of the fact that crime rates rose in the '60s while unemployment rates dropped. The idea of a supposed "paradox" of rising prosperity coupled with rising crime is much favored by the right-wing criminologists, who use it to justify abandoning social programs aimed at reducing crime through income redistribution and increased employment.

It's true that general unemployment rates declined in the mid to late '60s, while reported crime rates went up. But

it's also true that unemployment rates rose for some of the people most at risk in terms of street crime, notably inner-city black youth. (The pattern is especially clear when you consider declining labor force participation in addition to the official unemployment rates). It's curious that Greenberg, earlier in his argument, points to the importance of the "marginalization" of black youth, but apparently forgets or ignores it here.

There is, of course, an important element of truth in the "paradox" of prosperity coupled with rising crime. It shows us, once again, that under advanced capitalism, even prosperity is pathological. It's obvious that there's more to crime than unemployment—or income inequality, or urban disintegration. After all, some of our worst criminals are not only employed, but filthy rich. That's why, in the articles to which Greenberg refers, I talked about full employment as a partial, or intermediate, strategy for reducing crime. But it's an important one.

Full employment would have a substantial and, I think, virtually immediate impact on the crime rate. And it provides a solid handle for organizing. Ignoring that leads either to the repressive pessimism increasingly fashionable among pundits and policy-makers, or to the ultra-left fatalism that has made so much of the left's thinking about crime irrelevant in the real world.

—Elliot Currie
Berkeley, Calif.

Yugoslav Communists: ITT zapps the truth

Where Kenny Zapp isn't superficial on the subject of Yugoslavia (*ITT*, May 25) he's either misleading or outright wrong. I throw up my hands at the naivete of his account of the League of Communists' role.

The 1974 Yugoslav constitution was part of an LCY drive led by Tito to enhance the party elite's control over all areas of society. This is distorted by Zapp's paragraph starting "By 1974, however, majority agreement had been reached..." The use of the word "majority" and of the passive tense imply that the process was somehow democratic. Nothing can be further from the truth.

Further distortions appear in the paragraph headed "The Party's Role." Particularly enraging is the sentence "Though LCY officials are forbidden by law to hold government offices and workplace and neighborhood elections are relatively 'democratic,' the League has several means of influence."

The first part of the sentence is an irrelevancy, since high positions in the LCY and the government are rotated within the same narrow circle, rather like a game of musical chairs. Furthermore, it isn't even true, unless Zapp excludes members of the Central Committee from his definitions of an LCY "official."

Placing "democratic" in quotation marks and prefacing it by "relatively" do not satisfy the requirements of truthfulness. The fact is that nominations to office are controlled by the LCY unit in the workplace and the LCY-controlled Socialist Alliance in the neighborhoods. The unemployed, housewives and peasants can vote only if they are members of the Socialist Alliance or work on a socialized farm, and no independent candidates can offer themselves, even if they are LCY members. (The first and last time there was a contested election in the 1960s, when some LCY members took the talk about democratic elections too seriously, the unofficial candidates who refused to withdraw were expelled from the Party.)

Further, the elections are indirect: delegates are elected to an assembly, which elects the delegates to the legislature.

Finally, to use the phrase "means of influence" to describe the LCY's control, which Zapp describes in the following sentences, suggests either that Zapp doesn't know the meaning of words, or that he is deliberately choosing words that would lead persons uninformed about Yugoslavia realities (the majority of your readers) to derive a softer, more favorable impression of the regime.

It is also misleading to describe the Socialist Alliance and other organizations as "aligned" with the LCY. They are totally dominated and controlled by it, as examination of their leadership proves conclusively.

Zapp's statement that "domestic joblessness seems to be four or five percent" is also misleading. The fact is that the Yugoslavs have no meaningful measure of unemployment, and any honest observer would certainly estimate true unemployment as substantially higher. Even the Yugoslavs estimated it in the 15 percent range several years ago. Nothing has happened to the Yugoslav economy in the last two or three years to suggest that unemployment could have been reduced by two-thirds. Labor force participation rates of women in the more backward republics are extremely low, there is substantial hidden unemployment in the villages, and there is no accurate measure of the number of unemployed Yugoslavs who have migrated to Western Europe to find work.

I can understand why the Yugoslav government continues to welcome Zapp every summer, while legitimate American scholars have been expelled and banned.

—An Avid Reader
Washington, D.C.

Quebecois people constitute a distinct nation

As a consequence of the stunning electoral victory of the Parti Quebecois (PQ) in the Quebec general election this past November 15, the Canadian state confronts a fundamental challenge to its viability.

Simon Rosenblum (*ITT*, May 3) analyzed the circumstances contributing to and arising out of a secessionist oriented government in Canada's second largest and heavily industrialized province. There are two central considerations in his analysis that require examination. First, Rosenblum's conception of "nation" and "state." Second, the question of oppression and exploitation.

Rosenblum departs from the world of fact by failing to acknowledge the existence of an historical and structural class dynamic in Quebec qualitatively distinct from those relations existing in the rest of Canada. There is not the slightest recognition that the Quebecois people constitute a distinct nation. Instead Rosenblum identifies the Canadian "state" as being co-terminus with a Canadian "nation." This is an elementary confusion. Whether he is simply in honest ignorance of the significance of his position or simply denies the historical facts that any primary school text recognizes, one cannot say. Nevertheless, the absolute importance of this question has not escaped notice of people here and all the particular positions held on the Quebec question ultimately flow from either the recognition or denial of the existence of a Quebecois nation. The respective positions in this division of opinion constitute the reactionary and progressive camps on this issue. Political tendencies of all persuasions, from the Conservative party to the sectarian left, have aligned themselves accordingly. Rosenblum's position in this relation is in defiance of socialist principles and the facts. This is

not the place for a defense of the socialist concept of the nation; it must be accepted here as a premise. Given this however, its applicability to Quebec is beyond question. The Quebecois people have a distinct territory, history, culture and language stretching unbroken for hundreds of years, constituting an identity clearly separate from the English Canadian nation. Both nations are contained in one "state"—the Canadian state.

The second consideration of Rosenblum's analysis is the character of the relationship between the English and Quebecois nations within the Canadian state. With the conquest of 1763 by the British army, an Anglophone minority was forcibly installed as the ruling class of the Quebec colony and to this day has maintained its power. This minority is merely the regional arm of the Canadian ruling class, which is solidly Anglophone. This is attested to by many eminent sociologists.

In Quebec this elite historically has maintained its monopoly of power and influence through its cultural identity. Generally, as has long been true, the minority ruling class of Anglophones form a closed, self-perpetuating social category over and opposed to the majority of the Francophone working classes. Economic oppression thus takes on the character of national oppression. The Anglophone minority take as their own a disproportionate share of Quebec's wealth, just as any ruling class would, but employ it differently. They not only enjoy material advantages over the working class in the usual sense, but also maintain with it a cultural identity that compels the majority to live, work and behave on its terms.

The tail wags the dog. By virtue of their cultural and linguistic heritage the Francophone majority who are the working class cannot, frequently, even work in their own language. They have become strangers in their own land though they comprise 80 percent of its population. Unable to defend themselves as others might, they have suffered unduly in the current economic crisis so that in Quebec the unemployment rate is higher and wage rates are lower than in comparable areas of English Canada. Through such conditions the Quebecois working class has become the most radical in North America, and on their backs the PQ has come to power.

Instead of the *dichotomy* that Rosenblum sees between the socioeconomic demands of the Quebecois and their respective national aspirations, there is in fact a *unity*. A recent series of extensive opinion polls conducted in Quebec (*Toronto Star*, May 14-20) solidly confirm this view as opposed to Rosenblum's "the have-nots are the separatists" concluded one of these reports.

How can we see the future of Quebec? In the current stage of the struggle, the PQ, and explicitly pro-capitalist party (Mr. Lesveque is a former Liberal cabinet member) is attempting to solve the antagonism of class relations by eliminating the factor of cultural oppression. That he must fail in this ultimate goal must be obvious to any socialist and so no illusions should be maintained in his favor. Yet to the degree that support for the PQ represents a significantly higher level of consciousness amongst Quebec workers about their situation, it is to be welcomed.

Levesque would only go so far as to exchange local and Francophone masters for foreign and Anglophone ones. The effect of a deepening crisis of Western capitalism on Quebec will not allow rising discontent in an ever-militant population to be contained within such bounds. Seething with resentment and enormous energy the Quebecois population has been and will continue to move towards anti-capitalist solutions for the problems that beset them. Only socialist policies can hope to overcome the fundamental crises of Quebecois, and through them independence must become a reality.

—R. McMaster
Islington, Ont.

Israeli Jew supports Palestinian rights

The *Chutzpah* collective's statement on Israel and the Palestinians (ITT, May 3) argued that taking Israeli and Palestinian rights of self-determination to be mutually exclusive is a common and destructive attitude in the American left. I agree. However, their statement indicates a serious lack of understanding of Israeli/Palestinian history and realities.

There are two national movements, each claiming rights over one territory,

born to a Jewish mother—citizens of Israel or not.

Zionism, originally a response to European anti-Semitism, for the past 70 years took a different form from that of a movement for national self-determination—at least in regard to its Palestinian frontier. Since 1908, when Jewish settlements were established under the auspices of political Zionism in Palestine the creation of an exclusively Jewish national homeland was the goal, even though the majority of residents were Arab. By 1930, all important state institutions were formed and functioning, and full control was exercised over parts of the land. That meant the exclusion of Palestinians as peasants, laborers and merchants from lands previously owned and cultivated by Arabs and from the newly-developed Jewish economic system. In 1948, when Israel was established, the transition from pre-state to post-state institutions was smooth,

legally belongs to the Jewish people, whether they are citizens of Israel or not. This effectively covers 90 percent of the pre-1967 land surface of Israel; it does not include any of the land appropriated and expropriated from Palestinians for the dozens of "legal" Jewish settlements in the territories occupied by Israel for the past 10 years. Additional laws, regulations, administrative decrees and daily practices that generally exclude Arabs are too numerous to mention.

Under these circumstances, how can anyone say that "there are two legitimate and conflicting claims to self-determination in...Palestine" and that "socialists should give critical support to both movements?"

Relations of inequality between the settler-Jews and the Arabs of Palestine were well established by 1930, quite some time before the Holocaust, which is usually employed in defense of Zionism. Whether murder and rape "hastened the emigration to Israel after 1948" of Middle Eastern Jews is, at the very least, debatable; some Middle Eastern Jews attribute their emigration to promises and pressure by Zionists to acts of provocation, which is not to say that Jews were overly happy in Arab countries.

Chutzpah's description of Israel, its "strengths" and "problems" is even more amazing. To characterize Israel as "providing a home for many Jews, a multi-party political system and democratic rights" is precisely what any Israeli government, American Zionist organization and U.S. administration would do. As for the "democracy" part, I highly recommend Sabri Jiryis' *The Arabs in Israel* (Monthly Review, 1976) where the author, a former Israeli lawyer and a PLO dove, illustrates the limits to Israel's democracy. Three hundred thousand Israelis who left Israel for the U.S. and Canada are a living testimony to the quality of life for Jews at home in Israel.

The kibbutz, the core of Zionism's hold over the land, has always been at the forefront of the Zionist colonial efforts. Literally a frontier outpost, for years it served to expand the territories under pre-state Zionist development programs, and later on to shape Israel's borders. Incidentally, it has also often been used to settle the 1967-conquered territories. In Israel proper, the less than 5 percent of the Jews living in the kibbutzim are among the most privileged. Israeli Arabs are excluded from becoming members, since every kibbutz is

built on national land and paid with national funds—in most cases on land previously owned by Arabs. This, however, does not exclude "legal" and "illegal" employment of Palestinians as a cheap source of labor.

From the points raised so far, it is clear that one need not be a socialist to oppose Zionism, Israel's state ideology, the essence of which is ethnic discrimination. Consider a situation in which, say, blacks, or Jews, would be excluded from owning and leasing land and from employment on it in Manhattan in order to keep the center of New York white, or Christian.

The *Chutzpah* position accepts the Palestinians as "a people with a long history of oppression"—oppression, it is flatly stated, "by Israel and the Arab states." The fact that Israel's nature—the state belonging to the Jewish people, not to its citizens or to the country's inhabitants—is the direct cause for depriving the Palestinians of their nationhood and for their long history of oppression is not even mentioned. Neither are Palestinian present realities: the most peaceful acts of protest, in both the West-Bank and Israel proper, are harshly suppressed by military authorities.

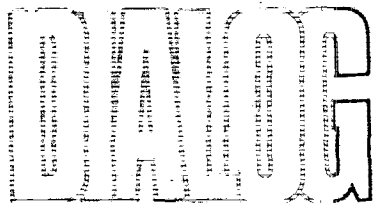
There is plenty to criticize about the Palestinian movement. But, to be valid, such criticism must be made in an historical context that recognizes present realities. PLO denial of Israeli-Jewish peoplehood should be understood in the light of the tremendously unequal power relations and the Palestinians' struggle for national survival.

The distinction between the right to self-determination and privileges gained through other people's oppression, has to always be borne in mind. Thus one should give critical support to the Palestinians while being very critical in rejecting Zionism. To defend state-imposed privileges is a truly peculiar position for socialists.

The "two-state solution" might or might not go toward satisfying the need for self-determination of both Israeli Jews and Palestinian Arabs. However, in itself the two-state idea is a non-solution. As long as inequality, domination and privilege prevail, Palestine will not be at peace.

—Yair Svoray
Minneapolis, Minn.

Yair Svoray is an Israeli Jew living in the U.S.



Criticism of the Palestinian movement must recognize present realities.

but the situation is far from symmetrical. In reality, the Palestinians, uprooted from their land and exiled from their country, are the ones striving for self-determination.

For Israeli Jews, living in the third most powerful country in the Middle-East (after Iran and Saudi-Arabia), the term "self-determination" is entirely inappropriate. Israeli Jews do suffer from economic hardship and the military burden, but here we are dealing with *privileges*, granted under the law and in practice, to all those fortunate enough to be

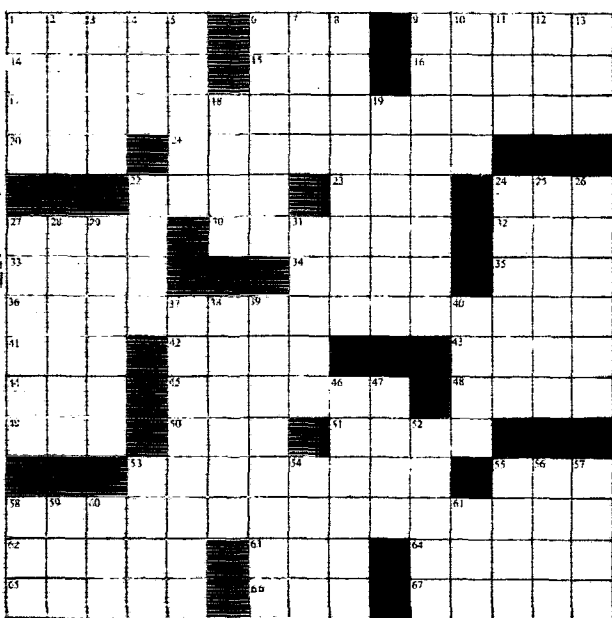
and exclusion of the Palestinian Arab population was greatly extended and legalized.

At the present, under Israel's Law of Return, any Jew—from Boston, Chicago or Minneapolis—is automatically granted Israeli citizenship and a right to "return" to Israel upon request. But a whole nation of Palestinians cannot return to their hometowns.

Other laws restrict ownership and leasing of, as well as any form of employment on, state-owned and state-administered lands to Jews. Here again, the land

Not Just Housewives

Composed by David Mermelstein



- 7 "Back in the _____"
- 8 What income is to tariff, historically speaking (in US)
- 9 Imposed
- 10 Disciple of Christ
- 11 New Zealand clan
- 12 Insight
- 13 Unit of work
- 18 Gypsy
- 19 _____ later: what mesozoic is to paleozoic
- 22 Captive of Hercules
- 24 Calm or serene
- 25 Fuses an ore
- 26 Orson or Sumner
- 27 Wearing a hooded garment
- 28 Alloy containing copper and tin
- 29 Least savage
- 31 What a musical note might say to itself?
- 37 Raider celebration?
- 38 Concerning the Buckeye state
- 39 Jacopo, Francesco *et al.*, It. painters
- 40 Opposite of stet
- 46 Ph.D. or third
- 47 Heraldic border
- 52 "Drove my Chevy to the _____"

- 45 Step in square dance
- 48 Fewer
- 49 Let it be given: Pharm.
- 50 Doubtful utterances
- 51 Gardner
- 53 Name of Shirtwaist Co., fire of 1911 in which nearly 150 women died
- 55 Chatter
- 58 See 17 Across
- 62 Last name of It. liner in famous shipwreck
- 63 To be indebted
- 64 Weird
- 65 Saucy
- 66 Dir. of Tampa, from Chicago
- 67 Shapes of many mountain roads

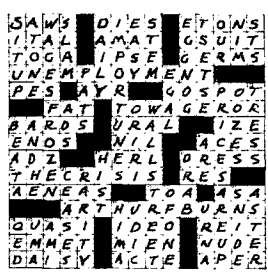
Across:

- 1 IWW organizer at 21 Across
- 6 Merrimack
- 9 Snow unit
- 14 Pacific island group
- 15 Scl. Harold Laski taught at
- 16 Spare or wear
- 17 Title and editors of a documentary history on women at work, with 36 and 58 Across
- 20 Sunday lect.
- 21 Site of 1912 textile strike
- 22 Of Wight, Man or Cephal
- 23 Sift: Eng. Dial.
- 24 Dir. of Tampa, from N.Y.C.
- 27 Medicinal bark
- 28 Prepared for publication
- 32 Underfoot
- 33 Stage of childhood
- 34 Japanese ship
- 35 Neighbor of Ind.
- 36 See 17 Across
- 41 Washington and Carter never told one?
- 42 Academic organ, *et al.*
- 43 Suffix for cigar or leather
- 44 Senators from Mass.

Down:

- 1 New Deal farm org., *et al.*
- 2 Kind of duck
- 3 Norse giant
- 4 Follows neither
- 5 Brads
- 6 Often characteristic of gems

answers to last week's puzzle:



More Letters

Time is ripe

Editor:

I wish your new newspaper every success in bringing the socialist alternatives and options before the American people. You are working under a handicap because the capitalists have a tight grip on our country's TV and radio industries.

It seems to me that the time is ripe for the American left to have a conference and decide what type of socialist worker managed and controlled economic system would be best to propose for our country. Freely elected socialism is making impressive gains in many parts of the world today and each country seems to favor different types of worker-managed socialist economic systems.

—Frank Fink Jr.
Willowick, Ohio

Impressed

Editor:

I am impressed by your newspaper. It is without doubt one of the most exciting publications to be produced by the North American left in a long while. Enclosed please find a check for \$15.

—Grid Hall
Madison, Wisc.

An upper

Editor:

Haven't had time to read all of the copy you sent but what I read looked

very, very good. Your publication is much needed. I did subscribe to the *Guardian* but got tired of the way they put out the info. After reading a few pages, you just seemed to get more and more discouraged. Maybe the left isn't winning many victories but there are a lot of good women and men who are fighting hard to make this a more just earth. After working many years on UFW boycotts and strikes, I know this for sure and it's up to papers on the left to raise our morale by letting us know some of the good things that are happening.

Will share your paper with others and hope to get them to subscribe too.

—Jerry Robinett
Tucson, Ariz.

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Rich Stromberg

Should you fight TV violence?

By David Talbot

Throughout the 1976-77 television season an intensive campaign was waged by public groups, media activists and politicians to reduce the amount of violence in TV programming. The high concentration of rapes, murders and assaults on TV, charged critics, is responsible for making children more hostile and aggressive, desensitizing the public to real-life violence, and creating the kind of mass psychology that readily accepts police-state methods as a way of fighting crime.

The National Citizens Committee for Broadcasting, led by former FCC commissioner Nicholas Johnson, began ranking TV shows by their levels of violence last year, and publicly identifying those corporations that sponsored the most violent programs.

Last fall the House communications subcommittee conducted hearings in Los Angeles on the subject of TV violence, and in March reopened its investigation in Washington.

In April the national leadership of the PTA announced that their organization was putting the three networks on "probation" until the end of 1977 and would monitor them to see whether they reduced the amount of violence in entertainment programs during that period.

In May, the California Medical Association declared that broadcasters should be held "civilly accountable" for televised acts "which lead to foreseeable harm."

A two-part strategy.

Alarmed by the growing wave of criticism, the television industry has begun to maneuver and return fire. Network executives recently launched a two-part counter-offensive designed to stem any further public intervention in their private domain.

As a concession to the violence critics the networks purged several "action" shows from their upcoming fall schedules, including "Delvecchio," "Streets of San Francisco," and "Dog and Cat." The new season will be loaded with more sitcoms, sci fi fantasies, and frontier sagas. The police/detective shows that do remain on the air will undergo some changes.

Behind the dispute over the anti-violence campaign is the fear that censorship, once started, will not stop.

ABC programming chief Fred Silverman told network affiliates in May that "Baretta" will "move away from the gritty street scenes" and concentrate on "the role playing" that the show's undercover police hero does "so well and humorously." "Starsky and Hutch," ABC's only other remaining cop show, will de-emphasize the shoot-outs and pistol whippings and focus more on "the interpersonal relationship between the two lead characters," according to Silverman.

The second part of the networks' strategy involves taking a strong public stand against viewer pressure groups and branding any further efforts to influence TV programming as "censorship."

A united front against critics.

On April 12 ABC-TV president Frederick Pierce delivered a speech in Los Angeles condemning the pressure put on advertisers and government agencies to lower the level of video violence. He called upon the Hollywood production community—all those writers, producers, actors, and story editors responsible for manufacturing TV shows—to join with the networks in a united front against the industry's outside critics.

Hollywood's major TV producers answered Pierce's call the following week by forming a committee to counteract pressure groups activities. Sy Salkowitz, president of 20th Century-Fox Television and a member of the committee, said he feared that the growing violence controversy could lead to government intervention in broadcasting.

Producer Norman Lear ("All in the Family," "Maude," "Good Times," etc.), who took a leading role in last year's battle against the networks' Family Hour, was also among those who joined the committee. Lear agrees there should be less violence on television but he is strongly against putting pressure on sponsors to achieve that end.

"It bothers me on First Amendment grounds," Lear told IN THESE TIMES. "When you fool around with sponsors, requesting them to boycott shows and so forth, there's always the possibility of further censorship. What other way can it grow? It's like a fungus."

L.A. writers' forum.

It is impossible at this point to determine how others involved in shaping the TV product will line up on this issue. Television writers, however, were given a chance to hear both sides and voice their responses on June 2 when the Writers Guild of America, West, sponsored a panel discussion on the TV violence controversy in Los Angeles. Members of the panel included Van Gordon Sauter, chief censor at CBS; Frank Price, president of Universal TV, the largest supplier of television programs; and Nicholas Johnson. The discussion was moderated by Writers Guild president David Rintels.

Sauter claimed that the "violence problem is almost a thing of the past." He said that CBS had cut the amount of violence in its shows by 36 percent in recent years. He pointed out that the upcoming season will have fewer police shows; but, he added, CBS will not completely do away with this TV genre. "The action/adventure series is a legitimate form of entertainment."

Sauter insisted that television offered the public "an incredible variety of programming. It is up to the individual viewer to determine what is proper for himself or herself to watch."

Sauter said he saw "something ominous" in the growing pressure exerted by public groups to influence network programming. "There are many organizations throughout the country prepared to besiege advertisers with letters [about shows they dislike]. We should be concerned. Now it's violence in dramatic shows. Next it will be sex. Then it will be violence on TV news."

Price also came to the defense of network TV. "I think television has been extremely beneficial for the United States and the world," he said.

"TV had a strong impact on the Vietnam war. All these supposedly 'brutalized' children who were the first generation to grow up on TV did not run off to Vietnam. The violence they saw on TV was a turn-off. They did not want to go out and kill people. The children raised on television turned around our national policy."

Price said that Nicholas Johnson and his supporters were "well-meaning in their desire to have less violence," but denounced their tactics. By putting pressure on TV sponsors to reduce violence in their shows, he said, they were legitimizing advertisers' involvement in program content. The result, he warned, will be more vacuous programming.

"I would say you're going to have a much vaster wasteland than ever. You can see it already in the fall schedule. The networks are falling all over themselves to put on situation comedies."

Writer/viewer unity.

Johnson began his remarks by making a strong plea for writer/viewer unity. He said it was in the public's interest to have TV artists win more control over their material. "The basic issue we're talking about tonight," he said, "is creative freedom for writers, actors and producers. The freedom to do the very best you are capable of. We want to create the conditions under which that would be possible."

Johnson said TV's preoccupation with violence prevented writers from exploring other dramatic areas. He charged that network executives have forced writers to add gratuitous violence to their scripts to make them more sensational. "Now that doesn't serve your interests or our interests," said Johnson. "When violence is used it should be at your best, when it makes sense."

It is the networks, Johnson told the audience of writers, who "have historically been your enemy." It is they, he said, who tell writers what they can and cannot write. Now the leaders of the

Continued on page 19.

Wit' a Brooklyn Accent

A column on sports by Mark Naison

While the Yankees have been fighting with each other on national television, the Boston Red Sox are getting ready to run away with the race in the American League's Eastern Division.

The Yanks were the odds on favorite to repeat this year because of their two free agent acquisitions, Reggie Jackson and Don Gullett, but the Red Sox just might have the better team.

This year's Boston squad is substantially the same one that took the Cincinnati Reds to seven games in the 1976 World Series, and they've been strengthened at the bat and in the field by the addition of George Scott and Butch Hobson.

The Red Sox stumbled badly last year, but that was largely due to injuries to pitcher Bill Lee and catcher Carlton Fisk. The Yanks are in the same fix now. The ace of their staff, Catfish Hunter, has had shoulder trouble all year. Unless he recovers his old form, neither love, brotherhood, nor George Steinbrenner's money is going to get them back into first place.

Mark Fidrych has made me a believer. I used to like him just because he's such a flake (there's someone like him in every neighborhood, but they rarely become ball players), but after seeing him work against the Yankees on June 20, I'm convinced the guy's a great pitcher.

I've never seen anyone who's able to keep the ball so low and still hit the strike zone. Against the Yanks, he didn't throw a single ball above a batter's waist and he was throwing hard all the time.

There's nothing fancy in his repertoire, but with his velocity and control, he doesn't need it. He hasn't given up a home run since the middle of last season, and hasn't walked a batter in four games.

Detroit fans, who have had their share of bad luck in the last few years (and not just in sports) have themselves a gem.

Like most sports fans, I don't watch ball games looking for causes to champion, but the racism practiced by some TV networks in their sports coverage is beginning to get to me. It's unbelievable that CBS chose two white announcers—Rick Barry and Brent Musberger—to cover the NBA finals, an event in which 70 percent of the players were black. The only black announcers we saw were Steve Jones and Sonny Hill, who were each given three minute spots at halftime on an alternating basis to analyze filmed highlights.

The excuse some people give for the all-white game crew is that when CBS hired Oscar Robertson as its chief commentator on NBA games two years ago, he was an unmitigated disaster. True, the Big O was awful, but he was no worse than the chief CBS play-by-play man Brent Musberger, who knows almost nothing about basketball and talks about ball players as though they were freaks or prize cattle. (It was he who dubbed the Walton/Jabbar duel "Mountain Man vs. the Franchise.")

The notion that there are no black announcers "good enough" for CBS just won't hold water. Two of the best commentators I've ever heard—who know the game and the players—were Bill Russell, who covered the NBA for ABC a few years ago, and Cal Ramsey, who covers the Knicks for N.Y.'s Channel 9. Russell might not be available, but Ramsey would jump at the chance to work for a national network.

It's time the networks felt a little heat on this issue. This isn't a question of quotas or racial balance, but of finding commentators who know the nuances of the game, which is now a sport in which black people set the tone.

Speaking of racism, there's a new organization that's been formed to fight for racial justice in international sport, the American Committee for Equality in Sport and Society (ACCESS). Chaired by Dr. Richard Lapchick, son of the late Joe Lapchick, the New York Celtic great and coach of St. Johns and the Knicks, the primary focus of the group is South Africa, and the goal is to cut off all American sport contacts with that country until apartheid in sport is ended.

The first major action by the group will probably be at the U.S. Open Tennis Championships at Forest Hills this summer. The U.S. Tennis Association has been very active in fighting to keep South Africa within the Davis Cup, and ACCESS plans to expose its activities at the Open. There are likely to be some very interesting demonstrations when the matches begin, and your sports editor plans to participate. (Tony Trabert, who attacked anti-apartheid demonstrators with a Tennis racket during the Davis Cup match against South Africa, is my personal target). If ITT readers are interested in working with ACCESS on this issue, write to me care of the paper....

NBA Player draft: This was not particularly a strong group of college seniors, and with few exceptions the draft should not affect the balance of power in the league.

The only team that could really move up in the standings is the Milwaukee Bucks. They got the two best college players in the nation in Kent Benson and Marques Johnson, both of whom played on national championship teams. If Benson is fully recovered from his injuries and displays the quickness to hold his own with the great centers in the league (his strength and determination are known quantities), the Bucks could become one of the league's better teams.

The Celtics might also have strengthened themselves a bit by drafting Cedric (Cornbread) Maxwell, the center of the University of North Carolina Charlotte squad that almost beat Marquette in the NCAA Semifinals.

Maxwell, probably the best ball-handling center in college ranks, will fit in well with the Celtics' fastbreaking attack and will enable them to get rid of Sidney Wicks, a move that can only help the team's morale.

Two individual players to watch are Otis Birdsong, drafted by Kansas City, and Bernard King, drafted by the New York Nets.

Birdsong is considered one of the best guard prospects to come into the league in a long time, a brilliant pure shooter and a fine ball handler who is big enough to hold his own with tall guards like Pete Maravich or Charlie Scott.

King is a super-quick center/forward with great inside moves and terrific timing on offensive rebounds.

Neither of these players will turn their teams into contenders, but they will likely move right into the starting lineup and be standards at their positions.

Of all the letters we've gotten on the sports page, the one that hurts the most is from Herbert Marcuse (ITT, June 8). It's one thing to be attacked for revisionism, but to be ignored completely....that's the unkindest cut of all. But it all evens out in the end. A couple of years ago, some friends and I were debating whether we would rather have a child of ours grow up to be Marcuse or Bob Cousy. Without hesitation, all of us chose the latter....

Mark Naison, along with Jack Russell, is a sports editor for In These Times. This is the first of an intermittent column on sports issues.

Fighting TV violence

Continued from page 18.

broadcasting industry, charged Johnson, are trying to direct the Hollywood creative community's wrath against public pressure groups. "We're being divided among ourselves by those who really run the country. They try to split up whites and blacks, the educated and the uneducated, the writers and the viewers. That's their game."

Despite the media activist's forceful argument, when it came time for questions from the audience it was he—not the industry representatives—who came under most of the fire. Writers lashed out at Johnson's use of the Gerbner violence index and his tactic of naming the sponsors of violent shows.

The Gerbner system, developed by Dr. George Gerbner of the Annenberg School of Communications, counts acts of violence without taking into account such factors as intensity or dramatic motivation. Johnson defended the index as a relatively "objective" method of monitoring TV violence.

Same tactic as Joe McCarthy.

Moderator Rintels said Johnson's tactic of putting pressure on TV advertisers was the same one used by McCarthyite groups in the 1950s to get "subversives" removed from the broadcasting industry.

"If the method is bad," asked Rintels,

who authored the 1975 CBS drama "Fear on Trial" about the blacklisting of radio personality John Henry Faulk, "how can the effect be good?"

Johnson cited the 1972 U.S. Surgeon General's report that found that violent TV material could have adverse effects on the viewing public. "The Surgeon General didn't find Communists hazardous to our health," stated Johnson.

"No," responded Rintels, "but the Attorney General did."

Several writers expressed concern that the anti-violence campaign would result in much blander programming. In the current industry climate, said one, the kind of violence that was displayed in "Snow White," "The Wizard of Oz," and "Captains Courageous" would be unacceptable.

The majority of those in the audience, however, were not convinced that the media reformer's activities would benefit them. "You don't want the networks to tell us what to do," said one writer to Johnson. "You want to tell us what to do." It seemed clear by the end of the evening that media activists like Johnson have some distance to go before they win the hearts and minds of the television production community.

David Talbot is writing a book about the TV industry.

Walter Cronkite

Continued from page 24.

what can be done," DeButts says. "We have committed ourselves to engage in the arduous contest of ideas and interests and values by which Americans make up their minds on matters of public policy."

The Roundtable is a concrete example of the idea of "sympiosis" forwarded by Cronkite. In this view, the free flow of information is used as business "intelligence" (Cronkite's word). Fear of the press on the part of the chief executives is counterproductive. Instead they must, according to Cronkite, creatively interact in their own interest. On a larger scale, the Roundtable offers a forum for business to coordinate its media contacts, as well as a place to formulate policy.

Another instance of corporate/media "sympiosis" is the increasing tendency of

companies to purchase ads promoting themselves as beneficent institutions. Such institutional advertising on television has increased 84 percent in the last five years, with much of it appearing on news programs. Western Electric is a regular sponsor of CBS' 60 Minutes, while Exxon and ITT buy ads on the CBS Evening News. When Barbara Walters of ABC interviewed Fidel Castro recently General Electric spots extolling the virtues of "free enterprise" were inserted at frequent intervals.

Sidney Blumenthal writes for The Real Paper. Danny Schechter is the News Director/Dissector at WBCN-FM in Boston and has been recently awarded a Nieman Fellowship at Harvard University.

Do you have 10 friends...



Do you have 10 friends who should be reading IN THESE TIMES?

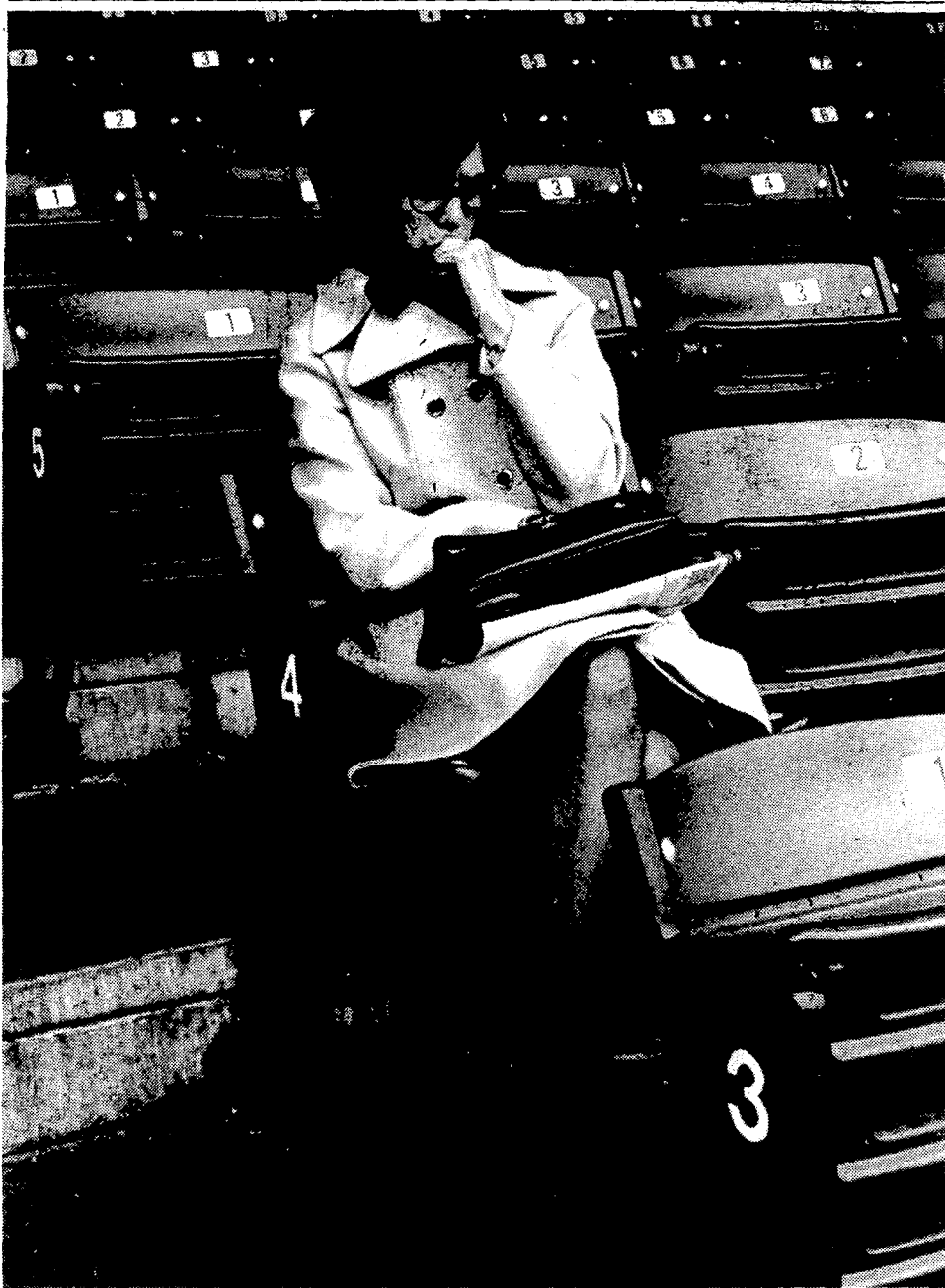
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SPORTS



Robert Schaeffer

Looking at the ball from the outside

Can you imagine a crowd of 30,000 where the male presence is negligible?

By Anita Diamant

Living in Boston and resisting Red Sox fever is like taking a shower in a raincoat. Even if you're a woman it's catching. One trip to Fenway Park clinches it: fanhood begins.

First off, the score reports on the late news lose their bathroom/kitchen pit-stop quality. And before you know it, the *Globe* sports columnists become witty, sarcastic and endearingly partisan in a morass of journalistic "neutrality." Then the sports page takes on a daily morning significance second only to coffee and comics.

During this time, you notice a remarkable number of fans among your peers. It's something to discuss with male acquaintances and something to dissect with women who weren't into sports before June either.

Taking advantage of a pair of beautiful box seat tickets that fell—free—into my lap, Michelle and I went to Fenway independent of male companionship. We each took a deep breath before going to the game without men.

There's not any real danger. There are families and too many decent folks around to let anything happen. But it is going into a man's club knowing your presence isn't felt. Women are invisible—in couples, on double dates, in groups of 15-year-old girls looking for groups of 15-year-old guys—it's eerie.

I cannot imagine a crowd of 30,000 people where the male presence is negligible, where women's laughter and jokes, women's voices hawking peanuts, caps, but-

tons and shirts, women selling women's ambiance, dominate so as to obliterate the men and boys in attendance. Women just don't have the opportunity to commune in large masses watching fine women athletes in action. We don't know that electric thrill of identification with a solitary sister on the mound with two out, bases loaded and a three-and-two count.

Fenway Park hammers home the marginal presence of women in American society. But you can't pooh-pooh the whole scene as sadistic and/or tobacco stained. It offers a rare kind of brotherhood-in-sport—both in flesh and myth. Baseball lifts people, as a community, as a whole city, out of themselves.

It gets embarrassing in print sometimes, the religious quality of sports writing (which in Boston is front page at least once a week). The larger-than-life language. The alliterations. And the half-grudging recognition that "it's only a game" and that the season will end. But life is a game with a closing date too, isn't it?

As a woman fan I sometimes feel like a voyeur.

After being in the stands twice I could read the score board at a glance, understood most of the numbers and almost all the lingo. I know who plays every Sox position and comprehend standings, batting averages and "the count."

Now I even read the lead story that describes the game I watched from the anthem to the last beer ad on TV the night before. I check the standings daily and keep the sports hot-line number near the phone. The Boomer, Captain Carl, the Rooster, El Tante; they're part of my summer. I have tickets to games from now through September.

And I really think the Yankees stink.

Anita Diamant is a writer in the Boston area.

nlg 40

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ART & ENTERTAINMENT

RECORDS

Joan is alive and well, but record's a dud

MIDWINTER AWAY
By Joan Baez
Portrait Records, CBS

Joan Baez has a new album out, the first of a new label distributed by CBS Records, and she has just done a national tour to promote it.

It would be easier to review the concert and the album separately—to praise one and pan the other. But it would also be to miss the point of the whole venture.

Publicity that obviously bears Baez's blessing announces that she has changed in the last few years, both as a person and as a musician, and that she does not want to be locked into the mold of her "image" of the '50s or even the '60s. The new Joan is not "involved" in politics, not traditional in her repertoire, not acoustical in her arrangements. So all right, she's got a right.

The concert format (in Chicago, and by reports in other cities as well) was designed to project the new cool, hip, hard-edged Joan without losing her

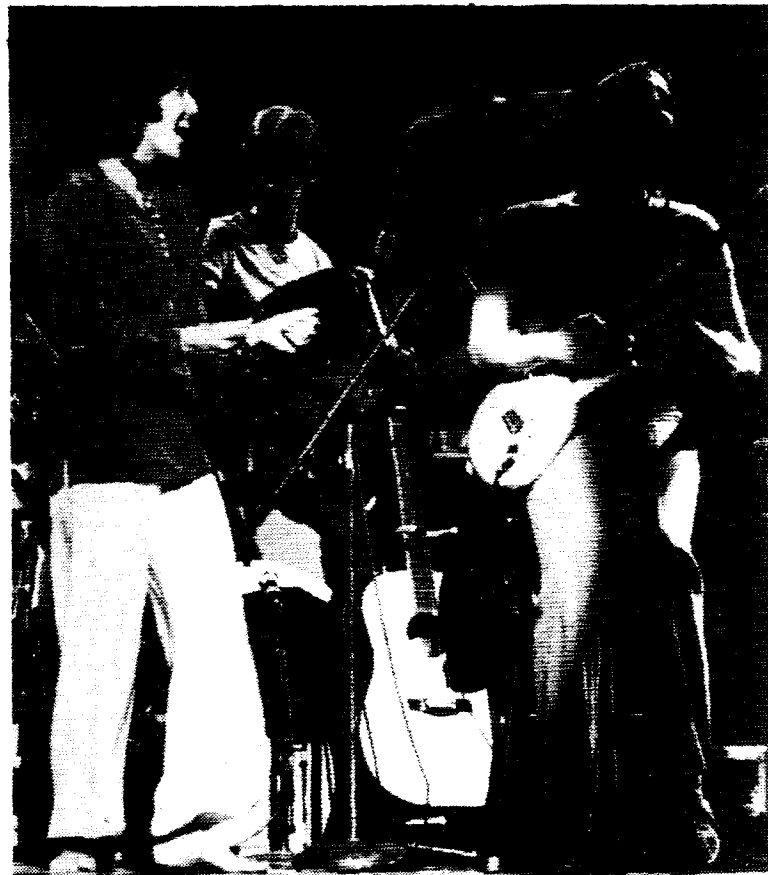
hold on the audience that loved her the way she used to be. The first half of the program was Joan alone on stage, barefoot and casually beautiful, singing a melange of her old favorites, accompanied only by her guitar. The only thing "new" was the patter that went on between songs: a few mildly shocking jokes ascribed to her seven-year-old son, and a lot of not absolutely absorbing autobiography.

The singing was great. The audience—a full house with all ages and conditions represented—loved what she gave them and shouted for more. And as she began to respond to the response, the hard edges began to blur and the old almost magical empathy was there.

The second half of the concert was backed by a rock group that was acceptable in its own terms, but terrible as an accompaniment to Baez. When they got time off for good behavior and did a few uninhibited numbers of their own, Joan did a little disco dancing. Some of her devotees felt it was "marvelous" that she could



Left: the old acoustical Joan; Right: the new, amplified and accompanied.



Photos by Tania Osborn

move her feet. Others, among whom were most Chicago critics, thought it embarrassing.

The songs were all but submerged in this treatment. But toward the end, as a favor to the balcony (which seemed to be political territory and had been begging audibly for "We Shall Overcome" and "Joe Hill") Joan gave them a new version of the latter. She belted it out like Ethel Merman, and the band ran over what was left of the melody. It was not for the nostalgic.

Then, as a final encore, Joan came out on the apron and asked the audience to join her a *capella* in "Amazing Grace." That did it. The house sang and swayed, and some of the older people wept.

If she learned anything from the concert experience, it was too late to influence the album, which

is called *Blowin' Away* and might as well.

Everything about it is irritating, beginning with the cover, which bears a brassy portrait of what could be the leader of the Girl Space Scouts of America. All the songs are backed by an anonymous band. Nothing is added by their contribution, but it does seem harsh to ignore their existence in the credits.

Most of the songs are by Baez herself and are not very good. She is not a bad lyricist, but she apparently has no critical faculty and doesn't know when she's off the track. Also there is entirely too much autobiography, some of which is in bad taste and some of which is dull. One such number, "Time Mag Rag," makes it because it's good for a laugh, partly at her own expense and

partly at the easy target of a *Time* magazine interviewer.

The best Baez song is "Miracles." The most moving is a plea for gay rights called "The Altar Boy and the Thief"—the one number, incidentally, in which the old champion of beleaguered causes takes a position on anything remotely controversial.

The last song of all, "Cry Me a River," comes closest to the quality that made Joan Baez a great popular singer. It fits her voice and proves that the voice and the warmth that infused it is still there. *Blowin' away* is not going to attract a following for the new Baez, but it ends with a signpost toward the direction in which the lady should look for her friends.

—Janet Stevenson

Exodus disappointing but not a disaster

EXODUS
Bob Marley and the Wailers
Island Records

This is the group's first release since the attempted assassination of Bob Marley during the Jamaican national elections last year. Although it features a few excellent songs, *Exodus* doesn't compare to the brilliant *Natty Dread* or *Rastaman Vibration*.

What's missing is the intensity and passion that have characterized all of the records that Bob Marley and the Wailers have released in this country. Most of the cuts on the first side of this album have catchy melodies and feature the always excellent Wailers rhythm section, but Marley's vocals and lyrics lack the tension and bite we have come to expect from him.

Exodus is not without redeeming features, however. The title cut and "Guiltiness" are vintage Marley and make fine additions to the group's repertoire. "Exodus" reflects the promise of African Redemption, a main tenet of the Rastafarian movement of which the Wailers are members. The lyrics call for oppressed blacks to leave Babylon and return to the land of their ancestors—Ethiopia—for some Rastafari, Africa in general for others. The blend of these words with a powerful driving beat leaves quite an impact. "Guilt-

ness" is a promise of retribution for the rich and the powerful. It mixes a marvelous melody line with lyrics of considerable force. The chorus goes

Woe to the downpressors,
They'll eat the bread of sorrow.
Woe to the downpressors,
They'll eat the bread of sad to-morrow.

It's possible that the problems with *Exodus* are the result of its being made too hastily, before adequate material was available. Circumstantial evidence for this comes from the fact that the usual care this group takes with its album covers and liner notes is noticeably missing from *Exodus*. There are no lyrics provided with the album except for the title song, a break from recent practice. Rumor has it that Marley and the Wailers will be coming to the U.S. sometime this summer; if this is so, they (or Island Records) may have wanted a new album out to accompany a tour.

Whatever the reasons for it, *Exodus*, though not a disaster, is a disappointment. Let us hope that this is only a temporary aberration and that the next album by Bob Marley and the Wailers will completely reaffirm their talent and commitment.

—Bruce Dancis

Bruce Dancis is an editor of *Socialist Revolution*.

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FILM

A challenge to Haley's Roots?

THE OTHER FRANCISCO
Directed by Sergio Giral
Produced by the Cuban Institute
of Cinematographic Art

At about the time Alex Haley signed his multi-million dollar contract to turn *Roots* into a TV series, *The Other Francisco*—a Cuban feature film—entered the U.S. These two works offer radically different views of slavery in the New World.

One of the most potent myths in the literature of colonialism is the "benign" impact of slavery in the Spanish territories of the New World. *The Other Francisco* documents the cruelty of the institution, stripping away the embroidery that adorns the master/slave relationship in conventional writing on the subject.

The film opens with the dramatization of a novel, written by a philanthropic slave-owner—the clear that the lot of the slaves was determined not by personal passion, but by economic forces. *The Other Francisco* illuminates the pressures of the industrial revolution in other parts of the

**Cuban film views
slavery in the
Americas in
more realistic
terms.**

story of a love affair between two slaves, Dorotea and Francisco, who are separated by a lecherous white overseer, culminating in the rape of Dorotea by her master and the anguished suicide of her lover.

Having been seduced into this 19th century sentimental romance we are unprepared for the sudden transition to "objectivity." The camera zooms out; the narrator's voice becomes hard and flat; the mood is abruptly changed; the story is retold with graphic brutality.

This time through it becomes world on the society of the Caribbean islands: only the wealthy growers could afford the new labor-saving machinery; the high price of slaves bankrupted the smaller planters; the transition to

modern production—the flowering of the sugar empire—was achieved by the destruction of traditional society.

And from the moment Africans set foot on the shores of the Americas they resisted their masters through flight, sabotage and—as the last frames of the film suggest—violent uprisings. This resistance was crushed by the white overseer—the *mayoral*—employing not the gentle admonitions of Scripture (although the Catholic church owned numerous slaves and mills in Cuba), but the sword and the lash.

There are lingering questions that neither Haley nor director Giral have adequately posed. If Haley has over-romanticized the lives of Afro-American slaves, Giral errs on the side of economism, reducing the slaves to the status of "products" of colonialism. In *The Other Francisco* we get little more than a glimpse of the lives of Cuban slaves. We cannot be satisfied to view Africans in



Above: Alina Sanchez as Dorotea, abused by her master.
Below: the foundation of the sugar empire.

the Americas as their masters did—as commodities whose lives were defined in terms of their relation to the sugar economy.

Despite these shortcomings, however, *The Other Francisco* is an important work. It is available to interested groups through Tricontinental Film Center (333 Sixth Ave., New York, NY,

10014). As the debate over the nature of slavery in the Americas develops, this film from Cuba will offer a significant challenge to Haley's views.

—Mac Margolis

Mac Margolis is a student in the Intercultural Studies program at Trinity College, Hartford, Conn.



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What's likely to happen in the **United Mineworkers union** now that Arnold Miller has been reelected president; a look at the **NAACP**; how was the **anti-B-1 cam-**

paign able to keep Carter to his word; and a possible conflict of interest involving California Gov. **Jerry Brown** and oil and gas interests.

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BOOKS

Eloquent voices from prison

THROUGH THE WALL: Prison Correspondence
Initiated and selected by Ethel Shapiro-Bertolini
Edited by Andrew Richter
Peace Press, (Culver City, CA),
1977, paperback \$5.45

Work on *Through the Wall* began five years ago when Ethel Shapiro-Bertolini sent copies of her Depression novel, *When the Storm Broke*, to 300 prisoners and asked for opinions of her book and news about themselves. Within months she had nearly 100 regular correspondents, most of them black men serving indeterminate sentences in maximum security prisons. (She wrote to women as well, but none responded.) Since she had culled her mailing labels from subscription lists of the *People's World* and International Publishers, many of the men are Marxists, as is Mrs. Bertolini.

More than 90 correspondents are represented here, including the resolute Mrs. Bertolini. This is both the book's strength and its weakness. For people who do not know what is going on behind bars, a multiplicity of voices will be more convincing than might be the ravings of an articulate madman. (There are a few madmen here: it was inevitable. There are also con-men, liars, and psychopaths, as there would be if someone began correspondence with subscribers of the *Boston Globe* or *Chicago Tribune*.) But there is consensus of sorts: life is war, prison is hell, and hope beyond the wall lies with revolution.

The flip side of the multiplicity shows that prison, like most of the world, is divided into Right and Left, while the Left is deeply divided. If there are any doubts about this after many pages of argument about reform vs. revolution; Chinese revisionism vs. Leninism; women's rights; and racism, the point is driven home when Mrs. Bertolini and her hus-



One of Shapiro-Bertolini's sharp cat correspondents.

band are expelled from the American Communist party for protesting the Soviet incursion in Czechoslovakia. (They had belonged for more than 50 years.) Shortly thereafter Mrs. Bertolini and Ronnie K. Irwin broke off correspondence over differing interpretations of Allende's collapse in Chile.

Further rifts develop along the racial faults traced by Harold Cruse in *The Crisis of the Negro Intellectual* ten years ago: the conflict between black integration into American democracy and black revolutionary solidarity. "Black people in America have a long history of thinking that our efforts to secure the right to vote would miraculously end 'discrimination' and give control to our lives," Walter Kent wrote to Mrs. Bertolini. "[but] I have yet to hear

any (black) politician come even close to campaigning on the platform of nationalizing General Motors or of abolishing real estate agencies and boards."

Cruse believed that Marxist ideologies would never understand the black struggle for autonomy in a racist state. But *Through the Wall* shows that blacks understand the Marxist ideologue's demands for revolution very well. Whether there is a coherent revolutionary force in America for these men to join upon release is another question. Several men rejoined the world only to discover that as ex-cons they were further away than ever from any class—working, middle, or intelligent—facing the same private war against a state that had defeated them many times before.

Much of *Through the Wall*

concerns the business of getting along in prison. Loneliness looms as the greatest problem, along with debilitating anxiety over parole hearings in systems of indeterminate sentencing. Bertolini's book clearly reveals the self-destructiveness and defeatism in men who do not know the limit of their sentence nor how to obtain parole. (California, where many of these prisoners are, recently abandoned indeterminate sentencing. All jurisdictions should do so.)

More revealing than accounts of prison routine are the stories of how the men got there. A young black named Eddie Taylor tells of a life of tragic misfortunes (his mother broke him before a Youth Authority hearing, falsely accusing him of raping his sister) and miscalculations that Faulkner could have made

use of. At a crucial point in his narrative, Taylor suddenly announced that he had an agent and an attorney to market his stories in the literary world. Mrs. Bertolini never heard from him again.

It is possible that some readers will feel the lack of a unifying voice in the book or expect conclusions about the issues that are raised. But these men raise enough good questions without having to answer them too.

These are sharp cats who remind us that Eldridge Cleaver and George Jackson were prophets, not saviors. We owe a debt to Mrs. Bertolini for finding them and creating out of their writings this unique and absorbing book.

—Jeffrey Gillineck

Jeffrey Gillineck is at work on a novel about the 1975 San Francisco mayoral race.

Jewish socialists indifferent to 'Jewish problem'?

**REVOLUTIONARY JEWS
FROM MARX TO TROTSKY**
By Robert S. Wistrich
Barnes & Noble, N.Y., \$16.00

For anyone interested in socialism and "the Jewish question"—and for Jewish socialists in particular—this book is a must. In ten succinct and informative essays on socialist leaders and thinkers who were Jewish (Karl Marx, Ferdinand Lassalle, Eduard Bernstein and Rosa Luxemburg in Germany; Victor Adler and Otto Bauer in Austria; Bernard Lazare and Leon Blum in France; Julius Martov and Leon Trotsky in Russia), Wistrich shows that almost all of them were what the late Isaac Deutscher called "non-Jewish Jews."

Accepting socialism's internationalist orientation, most saw their particularist ethnic and religious heritage as an Achilles heel. Indeed, the writings of about half were marked by self-hatred, often expressed in anti-Semitic caricatures. Marx, for example, equated Jewishness with "huckstering" in his essay "On the Jewish Question" (1843), and once

Accepting socialism's internationalist orientation, most saw their ethnic and religious heritage as an Achilles heel.

referred to Lassalle as the "Jewish nigger." Lassalle, parroting Hegel, wrote that "the world of the Jewish people represents the most perfect ugliness, the most extreme submission before God."

The century from Marx to Trotsky saw the end of the "liberal consensus" thanks to which western and central European Jewry was "emancipated" (won civil rights) and the growth of the most virulent anti-Semitism, beginning with the Damascus Blood Libel of 1840 and culminating with the Nazi holocaust.

Most of the Jewish socialists about whom Wistrich writes, manifested an "ostentatious indifference" to this problem. Even the brilliant Rosa Luxemburg was not only ignorant of the culture and religion of her people, but nearly oblivious to their fate. Responding to a letter that discussed the suffering of eastern European Jewry during

WWI, she asked, "Why do you pester me with your special Jewish sorrows?"

That same question was asked implicitly by thousands of Jewish socialists before and since that time who fought for the rights of all oppressed people—except their own. Many, like Victor Adler (a converted Jew), were confident that with the coming triumph of socialism, "Jewish qualities" would disappear in a new era of international brotherhood, and devoted all their energies to fighting for that secular messianism.

There were some, however, who fought for socialism within a particularly Jewish framework. In the same year that the first Zionist Congress was held in Basle (1897), Jewish labor leaders and socialists in Vilna began the labor organization known as the Bund.

Like the socialist/Zionist movement led by Ber Borochov

and Nahum Surkin (about whom, unfortunately, Wistrich does not write), the Bundists were socialists without being assimilationists. Writing and speaking in Yiddish, the language of the eastern European Jewish masses, they limited their organizing to the Jewish community and tried to serve as a link between it and the Russian Social Democratic Workers party. Meeting in London in 1903, the RSDWP rejected the Bund as a separate organization within the party apparatus, acting on a petition signed by 12 delegates, all of whom—including Martov and Trotsky—were Jewish.

Eduard Bernstein and Leon Blum were friends of Chaim Weizman and sympathetic, in their later years, to the Zionist movement. (In 1929, shortly after a bloody anti-Jewish riot in Hebron, Bernstein defended Jewish settlements in Palestine

against the denunciations of Karl Kautsky, and in the same year, Blum attended the Zionist Congress in Zurich.) Bernard Lazare "rediscovered" and wrote extensively on Jewish culture after being jolted by the Dreyfus affair.

Revolutionary Jews main faults are sins of omission. Wistrich might well have provided more information on the socialist movement's response to the "Jewish question" in general and to anti-Semitism in particular. Certainly at least one chapter on an American socialist like Emma Goldman, Daniel de Leon or David Dubinsky should have been included.

In general, however, the book is refreshingly straightforward, informative and highly readable. If it weren't so ludicrously overpriced—or were available in a paperback edition—it could find the mass of readers it deserves.

—David M. Szonyi

David M. Szonyi is a doctoral candidate in modern Jewish history and reviews regularly for *In These Times*.

Super-elite advises itself



Choosing the forum of a magazine available only by invitation and limited to "chief executives" of various sorts, CBS anchorman Walter Cronkite elaborates on the "symbiotic" relation between the press and business.

By Sidney Blumenthal
and Danny Schechter

You're publishing a new magazine for the elite of the elite and want an article from a prestigious American journalist; who do you choose? The editors of *Chief Executive Magazine* chose Walter Cronkite.

The first issue of the non-subscription quarterly features an article by the CBS News anchorman entitled "Where Are You Mr. Chairman," and subtitled "The Problems Chief Executives Have with the Press (And Vice Versa)." Cronkite, presented as "Dean of the World's Broadcast Journalists," instructs business leaders how to influence the media in their interest through calculated improvement of their press relations.

Chief Executive Magazine will not be found on any news-stand. Individual copies of the magazine are carefully restricted to a rarified audience. The first issue of the publication is dated "July, August, September 1977." IN THESE TIMES has obtained an early copy.

The magazine announces its intentions on its first page. "It is the purpose of *The Chief Executive* to provide a forum for the world's most important and influential leaders to speak quickly to themselves and to give new ideas and inspiration towards a better world." It claims that it is "circulated only to 25,000 distinguished leaders of the world, in one of these prominent positions: Chief Executive of a Nation, Chief Executive of an International Company, Chief Executive of a World Religion, Chief Executive of an International Institute of Learning, Chief Executive of an International Labor Organization."

On an economic foundation.

A quotation the editors feel is particularly apt appears beneath an opening editorial

in the galleys. "Political institutions are a superstructure resting on an economic foundation," the quote reads. Its author represents a different school of thought than the rest of the contributors. The editors present him as "Nikolai Lenin, 1870-1924." (Lenin's real name, of course, was Vladimir Ilyich Ulyanov. He never used the name "Nikolai.")

Jimmy Carter's visage in full-color appears on the cover because "he holds a unique position in the world today." The magazine also notes that his "daily life has set him apart in a skeptical world."

Carter's article, "Integrity in Government and Business" is the opening piece in *Chief Executive*. It is followed by "An Interview with the Shah of Iran." The magazine offers profuse thanks to the Shah, "who gave so much of his time during an audience in his official office, filled with priceless Persian works of art and about the size of the General Motors Building."

Carter's article is a vague sermon about the need to secure the confidence of the ruled. Carter writes, "Neither our democratic society nor our free market economy can survive without public confidence." He bemoans that "the public has responded with disillusionment about the basic integrity of the very people and institutions it wants and needs to trust." But Carter's article remains on the abstract level of soothing aphorisms. He does not offer the kind of helpful hints to business that Cronkite does.

Symbiosis is the word.

Curiously, Cronkite, who has just been ranked as the "ninth most influential American" in a *U.S. News and World Report* survey, seems to have been influenced himself in his conceptual understanding of business/press relations by the Symbionese Liberation Army. "Our most im-

portant bond, in my view," he writes, "amounts to something known in the biological sciences as symbiosis. It's a word that may have been sullied and discredited in your minds by that group of ill-fated young fanatics who called themselves the 'Symbionese Liberation Army,' but it remains a valid concept."

Cronkite goes on to define his comprehension of the term introduced into the American political vocabulary by Field Marshal Cinque. "Symbiosis is a serious relationship," writes Cronkite. "It is defined as the intimate living together of two kinds of organisms whereby such association is advantageous to each. It seems to me that journalists and business leaders are bound together by such a relationship."

He also spells out, in language chief executives can easily grasp, the materials ways in which business and journalism are linked. "Newspapers, broadcasting networks and outlets survive on the advertising revenues that come from business," he says. "Journalism can thrive only so long as the business community remains healthy enough to provide these funds. Business, on the other hand, depends upon journalism to foster its own growth—through the dissemination of information through news and advertising."

The anchorman scolds business leaders for often not being aware of their own long-term interest. He writes, "There is no segment of our national being that is so dependent for survival on a free flow of information as business and industry. Yet I am appalled to find, its leadership sometimes seems either to be unaware or uncaring or even supportive of restrictions that some would impose on the press."

Could function with handouts.

To illustrate his point Cronkite tells a

story. "I am reminded of a time that I had the pleasure of lunching with the chairmen of seven of the nation's major corporations to discuss some of the problems of business and the press." Each of the chief executives had a complaint about the press exposing conflicts of interest and corruption in their industries. Invariably they described the aggressive reporting that brought these facts to light as unbalanced. Cronkite argues that the airing of these problems helps business solve them in a manner that can "be of value and profit."

Publicity handouts from government and business are sufficient sources of information, Cronkite says. "I doubt that the economic system could function if all that business knew of what was going on in Washington or the world, was delivered to it by handout, if it was told only what the regulatory agencies wanted to tell it."

The press is necessary, he argues, to present business with a comprehensive overview. "Reports on other people's business or competitors in one's own business would be valueless if the reputation of the press was that it pulled its punches or distorted its reporting to please any special interest. Without a totally free press the intelligence every business needs in order to compete and prosper would be denied it," he advises.

Need an immediate source.

He singles out one problem of business' methods of dealing with the press that rankles him—not being able to always reach "an authoritative and quotable executive." Cronkite tells *Chief Executive* readers that depending only on their corporate public relations departments will not help them deal with media charges. "They should understand," Cronkite counsels, "that this denies them immediate access to the media so that their response to unfavorable stories can share the same news period (the same broadcast or the same newspaper edition) as the original charge. The second-day story is never quite as effective."

Part of Cronkite's program for chief executives in planning ahead for crises is having a corporate officer "with a title indicating top responsibility to be designated as spokesman with full authority to answer inquiries on an extemporaneous and immediate basis."

Summing up, Cronkite poses a question, "In essence the issue is one of accepting responsibility. When the public relations chips are down and your company's good name is at stake, where are you, Mr. Chairman?"

In order to show that Cronkite's article is taken seriously *Chief Executive* also publishes an article by John D. DeButts, chairman of the board of the American Telephone and Telegraph Company, on how business can recapture public confidence. DeButts is described in *Chief Executive* as having provided "the inspiration for this unique publication."

DeButts writes, "Frequently, we try to make the public aware of our position through the news media and our own personal spokespersonship." Business leaders do not contact the press as individuals, however.

The Business Roundtable.

DeButts points to a new business organization called The Roundtable as an indication of what he has in mind. Roundtable comprises some 170 chief executive officers of leading corporations; it is headed by Irving S. Shapiro, chairman of DuPont.

"The Roundtable is one example of

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